

History - Information

Drawer 11A

Geography - History  
History in Japan

71.200.000.001







# Indiana

## History

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the  
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection







Sally S. Mitchell  
(Under Caption "Honest Old Abe")

"My mother was a Mitchell, a first cousin of President Lincoln's mother, their mothers were Shipleys from North Carolina. My mother was captured when a girl in 1790 by the Indians, twenty five miles beyond Crab Orchard at a place called Defeated Camp. Walter Caruth was leading the expedition. He had led parties into Kentucky before. The Indians rushed upon them with wild hoops and commenced tomahawking. Grandmother was struck down but grandfather stood by with a spear and carried her into the Crab Orchard fort. She died next day. My oldest uncle seized my mother by the hand and ran away pursued by several savages. He was about to load her over a log over a deep stream when her courage failed her and she stood petrified with fear. Uncle dashed across the log and escaped. Mother was carried into Canada and remained in captivity five years with the Pottawatamies. She was also carried about the lakes in the Vicinity of Detroit, and heard the guns at St Clair defeated, and saw the Indians come in with their booty and prisoners. My grandfather went in search of my mother and was drowned on one of his trips in the Clinch River. He and General Adair were swimming the river and he was thrown from his horse. My mother was surrendered under Wayne's Treaty (1813)..... Nancy Hanks Abraham Lincoln's mother also went to live with Uncle Richard Berry and Aunt Rachel his wife taught Nancy to spin and weave." .....

Louisville Courier Journal  
Jan. 5, 1881

Reporter interviews Mr. Thompson at Springfield

*Squire Mitchell Thompson - a stalwart fellow six feet three inch tall and weighs in the vicinity of 200 pounds. Old log cabin - It is an old house big, dark, two rooms --- It sits on a hill top on the side of the hill. The woods by itself with no trees or fence around it and no one is living in it. The land is now owned by Thomas Reid but primarily belongs to the Berry relations of President Lincoln's mother.*

*Squire Thompson in 1832 was at Fort Dearborn (Ind.) Chicago.*



The men went to live with her cousin Richer Zeno who was also  
married to a Shaffer who had moved from North Carolina to western  
Canada some time before our marriage family started out  
from Haverhill over.

The family lived about a mile from the family where  
the Thomsens were married. It is the same Richer  
Zeno could not tell me exactly and might be a few  
days more of what I told you about.

This cousin that Joe (a L.S.) was killed in Lubbock's run,  
as I was then called about a mile from his clearing.  
He was found with a powder horn about his neck.  
found it to have been a mistake.

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Stuart



# MRS. VAWTER CLEARED LINCOLN FAMILY NAME

HER LIFE LINKED WITH PIONEER  
AND INDIAN HISTORY.

## COUSIN OF GREAT PRESIDENT

Mrs. Charlotte S. Hobart Vawter, whose funeral services were held in the First Baptist church this afternoon, was a cousin of Abraham Lincoln and a woman whose life story has interesting connections with Indian and pioneer life. She lived in Indianapolis until the death of her sister two years ago, when she went to Easton, Md.

A recent number of the Easton (Md.) Star contains some interesting facts about Mrs. Vawter's life and pioneer ancestry which were related by her to friends while living at Easton. To Mrs. Vawter is given the credit of clearing up the doubt which was once cast on Lincoln's legitimacy. This she accomplished by dint of long and diligent research among the records of Kentucky, which resulted in producing the marriage record of his parents.

### Grandmother Captive of Indians.

"Mrs. Vawter's mother and father," says the account of her family history, "were John Hobart and Naomi Thompson. The latter parent was the daughter of Sarah (Mitchell) Thompson, who as a mere child was taken by her family from Virginia to Kentucky, via North Carolina. This was in 1775, one year before the Declaration of Independence was signed. On the trail over which Daniel Boone had preceded them was a low place almost entirely surrounded by hills called Bloody Hollow. Here they first heard the war-whoop of the Indians and were attacked. The mother of little Sarah Mitchell was pulled from her saddle by her hair which caught in a tree limb while attempting to escape with the party. She was scalped and murdered and little Sarah, the grandmother of Mrs. Vawter, was made captive. The child's father escaped and returned later to bury the mother and search for Sarah. While crossing the Church river he was drowned.

"The child Sarah was taken to the Indians' camp and put in the custody of an old squaw, who treated her kindly. After the first day's tramp the Indians had bear meat for the evening meal and Mrs. Vawter's grandmother used to declare that it was the most delicious food she ever tasted. The Indians cut off her skirts to her knees and greased the bottoms of her feet and with them she walked all the way north to Canada. When the Indian men would get drunk at night the old squaw would take her out in the forest, wrap her in a blanket, and put her down by a log. Although when she would awaken in the morning the snow would be sometimes many feet deep, she would always be warm and comfortable. When she was once taken down with a fever the old squaw threw her into the St. Lawrence river and then swam in after her, doing this nine mornings in succession.

### Child Sold for Whisky and Cow.

"For six years this child of fortune was cared for by the Indians. Finally she was sold to a Frenchman for a barrel of whisky and a cow. She worked very hard for this master, even hauling wood from the forest to the house for the fires. In 1783, when peace was concluded between England and America, Sarah's name was included in the list of prisoners taken during the war and she

was exchanged. The list was published and one of her brothers went from Kentucky to the St. Lawrence river, where he found her aboard a boat. She returned with him to Kentucky, where she was given a home by her uncle.

"This uncle had received into his home another orphaned niece—Nancy Hanks, the cousin of Sarah Mitchell. These two girls grew up together. Sarah married John Thompson and Nancy Hanks became the wife of Thomas Lincoln and the mother of Abraham.

"John and Sarah Thompson had a large family. Some of the children, including the daughter Naomi, removed to Indiana in 1820. About the same year the Hobarts, of Massachusetts, came to Indiana and took up a homestead just outside of the present city of Indianapolis. It was a virgin forest at that time and the trails through the woods were marked by blazed trees. Indians were camped nearby and frequently came to the homes of the settlers asking for food, sometimes terrifying the women, but really doing no harm to anybody.

"John Hobart married Naomi Thompson and of this union was born, October 26, 1825, Charlotte Hobart, the oldest of ten children and the widow of a Mr. Vawter.

### Proof of Lincoln Marriage.

"About 1880 Mrs. Vawter was much annoyed by numerous reports in the papers that the father and mother of Abraham Lincoln had never been legally married, and she determined to discover proof of the marriage. She went with her husband

to Springfield, Washington county, Kentucky, where she had a host of relatives and friends. She and her uncle searched the records of the county and found the marriage of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks was absolutely legal. The establishment of this historical fact was reported in the leading journals of the land and Mrs. Vawter is prouder of erasing a blot from the reputation of her great cousin-President than of any other accomplishment of her life."

Mention has already been made of Mrs. Vawter's many years in educational work in Indianapolis and elsewhere. Mrs. Vawter was the stepmother of Mrs. Ernest P. Bicknell, of Washington, D. C.; of Frank Vawter, of Benton Harbor, Mich., and William Vawter, of Chicago. She is also survived by a sister, Mrs. Marcia W. Daniels, of Danville, Ind.

*Indianapolis News 2-1-10*



Mr. KERN. Mr. President, on October 1, 1902, at Lincoln City, Ind., there was dedicated a monument just then placed at the grave of Abraham Lincoln's mother. On that occasion the governor of Indiana was present and 10,000 people, including the school children and veterans of the Civil War for miles around. At the dedication Gen. John C. Black, of Illinois, delivered an oration, a short one, but a beautiful piece of composition, which, I think, should be preserved through the medium of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Standing by the grave of Abraham Lincoln's mother, Gen. Black said:

A great throng is here to-day who have come to testify their affection for Nancy Hanks Lincoln, and who have singled out this one woman for this unusual honor. Well might her simple spirit, if recalled to this scene, bid us leave her slumber undisturbed, and her ashes return again to the urn of oblivion. Well may all inquire why, after these many years, this stately concourse? Why the recall of these aged companions? Why this number of these heroic veterans? Why these honored women? Why should the great State itself turn back through the loftiest century of time, to stand in the person of its governor and officials, in splendid ceremony about a wilderness grave? And with solemn voice we answer, "That justice may be done; that wrong may be righted; that truth, eternal as the reign of God, may be established." We come, O woman and mother, here to build our memorial to thee! Thine earthly garments were damp with the dews of the wilderness! Thy feet were torn by the thorns of thy pathway! Thine eyes were dimmed by the tears of thy travail! But in thine arms thou didst bear, and at thy bosom thou didst nourish the babe of thy sacrifice, the child of thy toil—him the master of his time—the beloved of centuries to be—the servant of justice and the liberator of the oppressed. And so, for thine own sake and for thy child's sake, we are here to do this fitting honor. I have often wondered whether this pair, Thomas and Nancy, fled from the fate of slavery, with conscious knowledge of its baleful power, or whether their flight was simply from conditions not understood, but not the less intolerable. But be that as it may, "He rose and took the young child and his mother and departed thither."

Here in Indiana they rested. Here in Indiana she gave that child, in the simple cabin now gone to ruin, his first lessons. Here, in his father's presence, she sowed the seeds of truth and justice, afterwards to mature a mighty harvest. Here she stood and pointed upward, little comprehending, if at all, the future that awaited. We can not say she did not see anything of that future. What mother who bends over an American babe was ever wholly blind to the possibilities? Duller, indeed, than any mother must she have been not to have known that her cabin-born child had not equal advantages with the child of the plantation. Less than a mother would she have been had she not rebelled at the distinction and sought to obviate it. But, in any event, here she came, and having placed his feet on freedom's soil she yielded her blameless life back to the grave. And this is all her story—a short and simple annal of the poor.

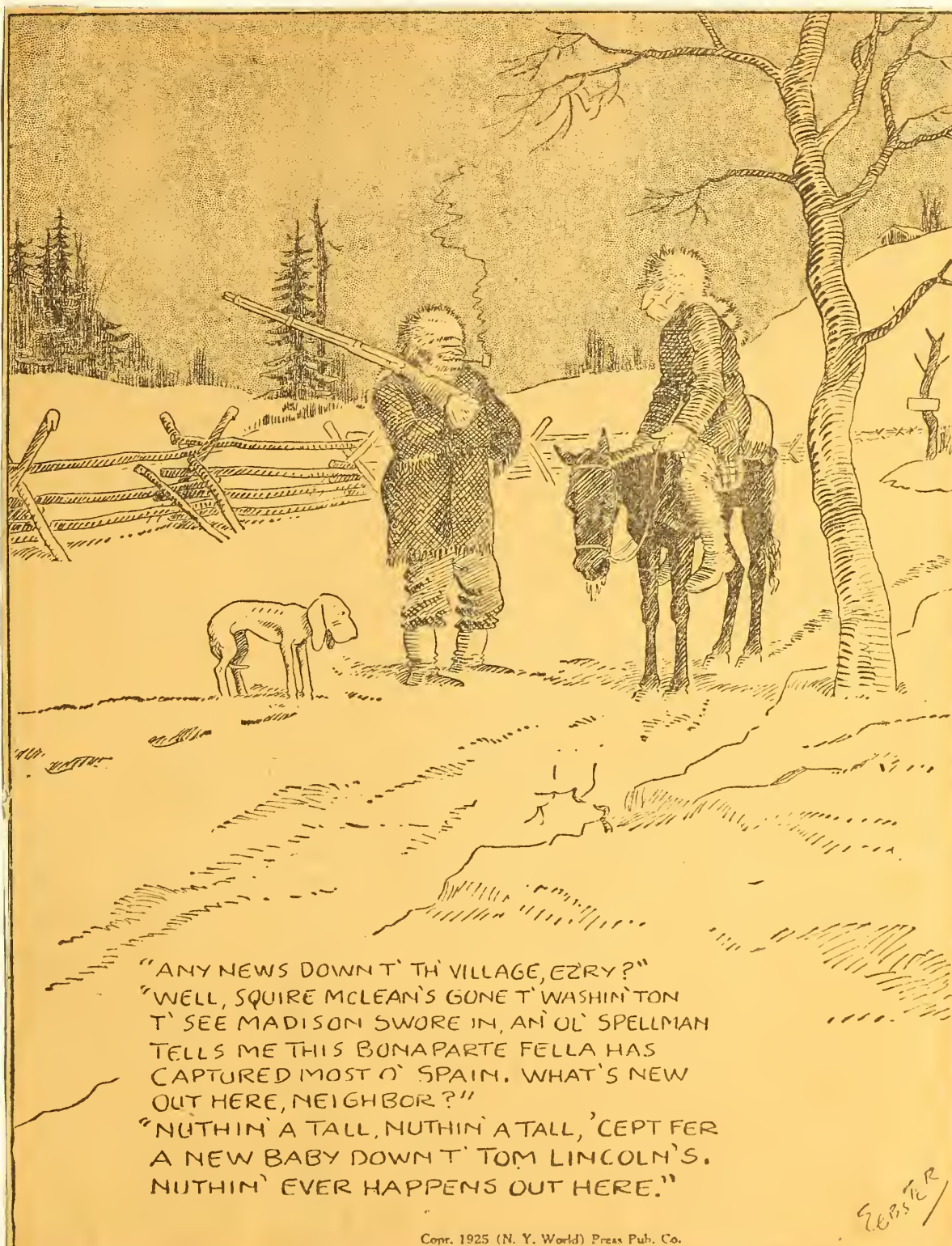
But the years passed on. The Nation was in the throes of a great war for its prolonged existence. At its head was the child of this woman and over against him the child of the plantation. The struggle was to decide, as the chieftain said, whether a nation dedicated to liberty could live or whether a government "of the people, for the people, and by the people" should perish from the earth. Was the leader equal to the task? Could he save the Nation for righteousness and liberty? Whence was his training, and who had laid the moral foundations on which he should stand in this awful struggle? We see the son bowed by a weight of cares such as has rarely fallen on human shoulders. He wielded the power and enjoyed the affection of a great people. Armies moved at his command and navies obeyed his orders. Disasters, recurring, filled the earth with loudest clamors against him. Calumny belied him and hate spied upon his every act. But ever, louder and louder, sounded the bugles of advancing victory. In the midst of this vast strife, in the stress of public trials and the pain of personal woes, we hear the worn and weary President, matchless orator, great civil leader, emancipator, patriot—he whose lips spoke down rebellion and liberty to the stars—we hear him declare: "All I am or may be I owe to my sainted mother." High testimony this, and most exalted witness.

And at last the great war drew to its triumphant close. Its mightiest actor, too, approached his end. Behold him surrounded by his friends and advisers. He is telling of all that he hopes for the land of his love. On him, so speaking, fell the melancholy which he had inherited from his mother, and he tells of the dream, which, often recurring, had always been a harbinger of some great, grave event. Before victory or before disaster had that dream come to him—"A shadowy ship bears me rapidly toward a shadowy shore." I sometimes fancy that on the dark barge of the President's dream there waited for him, standing midst the dense throng of his dead guards and statesmen who had sailed before, and who had returned to meet him, this woman, this wilderness queen, this tallest and stateliest of them all—this mother whom to-day we honor. The world beyond has its own mysteries. So to the living they will ever continue. And so we leave them—one here in Indiana, two in Illinois, in the grasp of the Union, their lives preserved—we leave them, son and father and mother, in equal honor and in eternal peace.

Mr. President, this being the anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, I move, out of respect to his memory, that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, February 14, 1916, at 12 o'clock meridian.





Copy. 1925 (N. Y. World) Press Pub. Co.

Hardin County, Kentucky, Feb. 12, 1809



Sept 9-1949  
THE CHIC

## MARBLE GAME WITH LINCOLN RECALLED HERE

### Chicago Civil War Veteran Tells How Emancipator Joined Boys.

Abraham Lincoln, when 44 years old, enjoyed playing marbles with a group of small boys, a Chicago civil war veteran recalls.

"It was back in 1853," W. C. Slemmons of 7000 North Paulina street tells. "A group of us boys were playing marbles in a vacant lot in the little town of Paris, downstate. I was about 9 years old then. As I remember it we were interested in the game and didn't want to pay much attention to the tall man who walked up and began to watch.

"At the end of the game he asked if he could join in. We knew him only as Abe Lincoln, a lawyer and political figure. He got into the game with us and became so fascinated that he played for more than half an hour. It may seem strange for a man his age, but the boys knew that was his way and he got along well with us."

Mr. Slemmons will be one of those on the platform tomorrow morning at a special service of the Central church in Orchestra hall. The principal speaker will be Dr. Frederick P. Shannon, pastor, whose subject will be "The Mysticism of Abraham Lincoln."

#### Other Gatherings Planned.

A number of other gatherings in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday are being held tomorrow, Monday, and Tuesday.

Four thousand high school students will attend a Lincoln's birthday celebration in the Auditorium theater Tuesday morning, under the auspices of the Union League club. The four division winners in the high school oratorical contest sponsored by the club will give talks on the life of Lincoln and the final winner will be chosen.

The division winners are Dorothy Fetchman of Commercial Continuation school; Dominick Stabile, Crane Technical; Bernard Cooper, Roosevelt, and Robert Dearborn, Proviso Township. The winner of the club's "ode to the flag" contest, Harriet Dunning of Proviso Township, will recite her poem. The Abraham Lincoln poster made by John S. Gehrmann of Lake View high school,

winner in the poster contest, will be on display. Gehrmann has been awarded an Art institute scholarship by the club.

The same morning the Chicago Woman's club is holding an Abraham Lincoln commemorative meeting in the Fine Arts building.

The principals from every high school and student delegates from each school will attend and report back to the student assemblies. Also, representatives from every settlement house, foreign language paper and racial or religious clubs are expected to attend. The consular corps will send a delegate.

The speakers have been chosen so that various sides of religious and racial questions will be stated. Dr. Charles W. Gilkey, dean of the University of Chicago chapel, will make the principal address.

The other speakers will be Rabbi Louis Mann, the Rev. Frederic Siegenburg, dean of Loyola university graduate school; Carl O. de Dardel, Swedish consul; Judge Albert B. George and William J. Bogan, superintendent of schools. Mrs. Andrew Mac Leish, club president, will preside.

The only purpose of the meeting is to establish understanding and friendship among the diversified racial and religious groups, Mrs. Helen W. Cooley, club chairman, explained.

#### Warns of Jealousies.

"We women realize with alarm that prejudices are aroused and hatreds and jealousies deliberately fomented for selfish purposes by a certain class of politicians," Mrs. Cooley said. "We believe that the future happiness of Chicago will depend on our willingness to give just valuation to the contributions to our civic life of all racial groups and that all must work together for the good of all."

Monday evening the Chicago Historical society will hold a public Lincoln's birthday meeting at which Dr. Horace J. Bridges, head of the Chicago Ethical society, will talk on "Lincoln, Peace-Lover and War-Maker." The historical society, which is located at 632 North Dearborn street, will have on display a large collection of articles associated with Lincoln during his life.

"In the completeness of his life, in the humbleness of his origin and in the nobility of his self-sacrifice Abraham Lincoln can be compared only with the Carpenter of Galilee, the Man of Sorrows."

Such was the tribute paid to the memory of the emancipator by Dr. Preston Bradley, pastor of the People's church, speaking today at the weekly forum at the Central Y. M. C. A., 19 South LaSalle street.

"I can say without irreverence," added Dr. Bradley, "that in the lives of Christ and Lincoln there are many analogies.

"Both had that basic humanity that identifies them not with any one age but with all ages and eternity."



October 29, 1930

Mr. W. E. Daniels, Editor  
Henderson Morning Gleaner & Journal  
Evansville, Indiana

My dear Mr. Daniels:

I have just received from Mr. F. W. Jones of Evansville, a marked copy of the Henderson Morning Gleaner containing a reference to my work.

Will you please accept my thanks for this very complimentary write-up which of course will be very interesting to my many friends in Union County.

Mr. Jones suggests that you might like to receive a copy of Lincoln Lore, the publication of this Foundation.

Under separate cover we are sending you such back numbers as are available, and placing your name on the mailing list for subsequent copies. We trust you will enjoy reading this publication.

I shall be very glad during my next visit to Western Kentucky to call on you at your office.

Respectfully yours,

LAW:VL

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Director,  
Lincoln Historical Research Foundation.



# Leigh Harris, Publisher

Member Associated Press, A. B. C., A. N. P. A.

HENDERSON, KY. Nov. 20, 1930.

Dr. Louis A. Warren,  
Director, Lincoln Historical  
Research Foundation,  
Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Dear Dr. Warren:

Under date of October 29, you wrote me, mentioning an editorial in Henderson Morning Gleaner, and saying back numbers of Lincoln Lore were being mailed, and that my name would be listed for subsequent copies. Your letter was addressed to me as editor of the Henderson Morning Gleaner & Journal, Evansville, Ind. That letter, however, and a brown envelope containing June 23, issue of Lincoln Lore, also mailed to Evansville, were forwarded to Henderson. If your office mailed the back numbers referred to it isn't unlikely the package went to Evansville, instead of Henderson, which explains why I didn't get them. I purposely waited this long before replying to your letter, hoping to receive the printed matter.

Please find enclosed ten recent editorials bearing on Lincoln. While on the Owensboro Inquirer, three years prior to June last year, I several times visited Rockport, and while writing a series of feature articles in the spring and summer of 1928 I was in Lewisport. My story there was built around Lincoln. I met a number of Esq. Pate's descendants and spent an hour or more at the old Pate house on the river where Lincoln was tried, then wandered in the old burial ground nearby where Caroline Meeker sleeps. I have never seen Hodgenville, often I as write about the cabin and its temple, but have

3



# Leigh Harris, Publisher

Member Associated Press, A. B. C., A. N. P. A.

HENDERSON, KY.

#2

been to Lincoln City and stood uncovered by the grave of Nancy Hanks. I first approached it at mid-afternoon, just when the sun was sending shadows from the nearby trees to dance about the grave. I felt an awe, a reverence, which one without the love for Lincoln cannot sense.

Dr. Warren you are engaged in a work that must be very fascinating. To me nothing could be more interesting. I regard Lincoln as the first American, and the more I ponder his strange life the larger grows its worth upon me. With the many duties of managing editor I do not have the time I would like to devote to Lincoln. I hope that some time I may like you, be able to give my entire time to delineating the characteristics of the emancipator. I can appreciate Lincoln more than some, for my people were like Lincoln's, without education or the graces of society.

If you have the back numbers of Lincoln Lore you referred to please send them, and be sure to have your secretary note that I live in Henderson, Ky., not Evansville, Ind. When you are down this way don't fail to see me.

Yours very truly,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "W. E. Daniel". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name "W. E. Daniel".



November 22, 1930

Mr. W. W. Daniel  
Morning Gleaner  
Henderson, Kentucky

My dear Mr. Daniel:

I regret very much that we have made a mistake in your address which apparently has sent your Lincoln Lore to Evansville. We are sending you to-day, however, another back file as complete as we can possibly make it, and trust you will receive these in due time.

I want to thank you very much for the editorials which you enclosed in your recent letter and the fact that we are featuring our clipping file will make these very valuable.

I am very much interested, indeed, in your contact with the descendants of Esquire Tate, and am wondering if any of the original documents relating to the magistrate's court are still available.

I am very glad indeed to learn of your special interest in Lincoln and want you to receive with my compliments some of the booklets I am gathering together here and which will give you a better idea of Hodgenville.

I attended yesterday the joint meeting of the Lincoln Memorial Highway Commissioners of Illinois, Kentucky, and Indiana, held at the Governor's office at Indianapolis, and as soon as this Memorial Highway project from Lincoln's birthplace to his grave is under way, there will be many fine feature stories which will be timely.

You may feel sure we will appreciate any item on Lincoln that appears in any of the papers in southern Indiana or Kentucky which would be of special interest to our collection.

Thanking you for the interest you are taking in our work, we are

Respectfully yours,

LAW:VL

\_\_\_\_\_  
Director.



# Leigh Harris, Publisher

Member Associated Press, A. B. C., A. N. P. A.

HENDERSON, KY. February 22, 1931.

Dr. Louis A. Warren,  
Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Dear Dr. Warren:

Please accept my sincere thanks for Lincoln Lore, No. 97, describing the eventful happenings there on February 11, to which I had invitations, very highly appreciated, which I could not accept to my regret.

Speaking to our mutual friend, Dr. J. A. Stiles, who has moved from Morganfield to Henderson since you left Union county, I asked whether the Miss Eleanor Warren was your daughter, having noted her name on the Lincoln dinner program.

Find enclosed a copy of my Lincoln editorial published in the Henderson Evening Journal, of Thursday, February 12. I had my wife clip a copy to send you but found so many typographical errors that am typing it off. You know Dr. Warren how aggravating the printer is in making us say things we don't mean.

Any Lincoln information you may have for distribution will have no more avid reader. But your mail to me still comes to Evansville instead of Henderson and must all be forwarded. I mentioned this once before. Please advise your secretary to get my address right on the mailing list.

Yours very truly,

W. E. Daniel



February 24, 1931

Mr. W. E. Daniel  
Henderson, Kentucky

My dear Mr. Daniel:

Please accept my thanks for a copy of the editorial you prepared for the Henderson Evening Journal.

We will try and have your address corrected so that you will receive the mail direct from this office.

We should be very glad indeed to be advised of any Lincoln material that may appear in the papers of your community.

Very sincerely yours,

LAW:VL

Director,  
Lincoln Historical Research Foundation.



# Leigh Harris, Publisher

Member Associated Press, A. B. C., A. N. P. A.

HENDERSON, KY. June 7, 1931.

Dr. Louis A. Warren,  
Editor Lincoln Lore,  
Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Dear Dr. Warren:

Please find enclosed three more Lincoln editorials. I never miss an opportunity to pay tribute to Lincoln. I prize very highly the successive numbers of Lincoln lore. If you plan to be in this section be sure to advise me as I am very anxious to meet you.

Yours very truly,

*W. E. Daniel*



June 9, 1931  
Dict. June 8

Mr. W. E. Daniel  
Henderson, Kentucky

My dear Mr. Daniel:

Please accept my thanks for the clipping which you kindly enclosed and which I read with much interest. You may be assured that if I find occasion to pass through Henderson, I shall not forget to look you up.

Respectfully yours,

Director  
Lincoln Historical Research Foundation

LAW:ED



# Leigh Harris, Publisher

Member Associated Press, A. B. C., A. N. P. A.

HENDERSON, KY. July 7, 1931.

Dr. Louis A. Warren,  
Editor Lincoln Lore,  
Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Dear Dr. Warren:

As successive issues of Lincoln Lore come to me and I assemble them with other information on Lincoln the question presents as to whether I could be of use to the Lincoln National Life Insurance company. I know nothing of life insurance work, having been engaged in newspaper reportorial and editorial lines for several years, but am willing to learn. I am forty-four years old, married. I am willing to go anywhere. Will you please write me the prospects for getting a place in the organization? Naturally I would prefer work in the publicity department where my training could be utilized. The name Lincoln attracted me when first I heard of the company. Living in the Lincoln country and having visited some of the historic places associated with his memory I would appreciate a connection that bids fair to enhance my enthusiastic and reverent admiration for Kentucky's first son.

Yours very truly,

W E Daniel



July 9, 1931

PERSONAL

Mr. W. E. Daniel  
Morning Gleaner  
Henderson, Kentucky

My dear Mr. Daniel:

Your letter with reference to your availability for some type of publicity work is before me.

Due to the business depression which is being felt everywhere, even in insurance, I am sure there would be no opening here at this time, but I should be very glad to keep your letter on file and if an opportunity to recommend you should present itself, you may rely upon me to remember you.

Respectfully yours,

Director  
Lincoln Historical Research Foundation

LAW:EB



Henderson, Ky., January 11, 1932.

Lincoln National Life Insurance Co.,  
Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Gentlemen:


Noted in Lincoln Lore, Number 143, received today, that back numbers are available in part. I do not have Numbers 1-3-4-5-6-7-8-10-11-14-15-16-17-22- 26-27-28-29-34 and 35, for 1929; Numbers 61-86-87-88-89-90, for 1930, and Numbers 91-93-95-96-98-99-112- 136 and 137, in 1931. Please send all available.

Lincoln Lore is a highly appreciated addition to my Lincoln library. Within the past year I purchased Beveridge's Lincoln, four volumes, and Albert Shaw's two volume set. I already had a number of small book and pamphlets on Lincoln. As a newspaper man it has been my pleasure to study Lincoln scenes at first hand. While on Owensboro Inquirer, Owensboro, Ky., visited Pate home where Lincoln was tried for operating ferry without license, the grave of Caroline Meeker, the bi-ennial pageant at Rockport, Ind.

The work of Dr. Warren, as editor of Lincoln Lore, is a contribution to Lincoln's life story beyond value. His human touches bring the emancipator within reach. Those who remember him as church pastor at Morganfield, near here, are following with interest his work.

Very truly yours,

W. E. Daniel,  
P. O. Box 474,  
Henderson, Ky.



Please note change in address.



15.  
Henderson, Ky., Feb. 18, 1932.

Dr. Louis A. Warren,  
Editor Lincoln Lore,  
Lincoln National Life Insurance Co.,  
Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Dear Dr. Warren:

Having heard my husband, Col. W. E. Daniel, speak of you in connection with some Lincoln Lore correspondence, beg leave to inquire of you information about the Harriet A. Chapman mentioned in Beveridge's "Abraham Lincoln". My great-grandfather, known as Steve Chapman, buried in Grayville, Ill., in 1863, according to family tradition married, the second time, a cousin of Abraham Lincoln, thought to be Harriet Hanks. Any information you may furnish me will be sincerely appreciated.

Very truly yours,

*Mrs. W. E. Daniel*

Mrs. W. E. Daniel,  
P. O. Box 474,  
Henderson, Ky.



February 25, 1932

Mrs. W. E. Daniel  
P. O. Box 474  
Henderson, Ky.

My dear Mrs. Daniel:

In reply to your letter about Harriet Hanks, daughter of Dennis Hanks, and Elizabeth Johnson Hanks, a daughter of Thomas Lincoln's second wife and step-sister of Abraham Lincoln, I would say that she married Augustus H. Chapman instead of Steve Chapman, as suggested in your letter.

Very Sincerely yours,

Director  
Lincoln Historical Research Foundation

LAW:EB



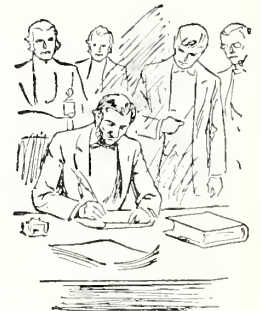
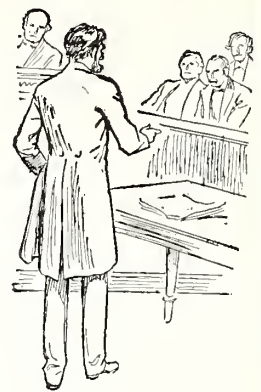
**BORN**  
February 12, 1809



# LINCOLN—THE MAN OF THE PEOPLE

By EDWIN MARKHAM

**DIED**  
April 15, 1865



When the Norn Mother saw the Whirlwind Hour  
Greatening and darkening as it hurried on,  
She left the Heaven of Heroes and came down  
To make a man to meet the mortal need.  
She took the tried clay of the common road—  
Clay warm yet with the genial heat of Earth,  
Dashed through it all a strain of prophecy,  
Tempered the heap with thrill of human tears,  
Then mixed a laughter with the serious stuff.  
Into the shape she breathed a flame to light  
That tender, tragic, ever-changing face;  
And laid on him a sense of the Mystic Powers,  
Moving—all hushed—behind the mortal veil.  
Here was a man to hold against the world,  
A man to match the mountains and the sea.

The color of the ground was in him, the red earth,  
The smack and tang of elemental things:  
The rectitude and patience of the cliff,  
The good-will of the rain that loves all leaves,  
The friendly welcome of the wayside well,  
The courage of the bird that dares the sea,  
The gladness of the wind that shakes the corn,  
The pity of the snow that hides all scars,  
The secrecy of streams that make their way  
Under the mountain to the rifted rock,  
The tolerance and equity of light  
That gives as freely to the shrinking flower  
As to the great oak flaring to the wind—  
To the grave's low hill as to the Matterhorn  
That shoulders out the sky. Sprung from the West,  
He drank the valorous youth of a New World.  
The strength of virgin forests braced his mind,  
The hush of spacious prairies stilled his soul.

Up from log cabin to the Capitol,  
One fire was on his spirit, one resolve—  
To send the keen ax to the root of wrong,  
Clearing a free way for the feet of God,  
The eyes of conscience testing every stroke,  
To make his deed the measure of a man.  
He built the rail-pile as he built the State,  
Pouring his splendid strength through every blow:  
The grip that swung the ax in Illinois  
Was on the pen that set a people free.

So came the Captain with the mighty heart;  
And when the judgment thunders split the house,  
Wrenching the rafters from their ancient rest,  
He held the ridgepole up, and spiked again  
The rafters of the Home. He held his place—  
Held the long purpose like a growing tree—  
Held on through blame and faltered not at praise—  
Towering in calm rough-hewn sublimity.  
And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down  
As when a lordly cedar, green with boughs,  
Goes down with a great shout upon the hills,  
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky.

From "Edwin Markham," by William L. Stidger (Copyright 1933), published by The Abingdon Press, New York.



Tampa Fla.  
Jan. 4 1933

Mr. O. V. Brown  
Dale, Ind.

Dear Mr. Brown:

I was glad to hear from you and greatly appreciate the map of Lincoln Park and surroundings and also for the picture of Pigeon Creek Church. In answer to your questions-- My father's home as shown in your map, was his home from 1861 to Aug. 23, 1884, the date of his death. He moved to this home from his old home on the same farm, and located about one-fourth mile east of the new home. This was no doubt the home to which Lincoln came often to read the statutes of Indiana (Statutes of 1824) when father was constable, and his home when the Lincoln family moved to Illinois in 1830. Answering the third question-- Abe made rails for father, perhaps some of the older citizens remember a time when a great many persons were anxious to have walking canes made from rails made by Lincoln. They came to father and others seeking such rails. Father said he told them that though Abe made some of the rails in use on his farm, he could not point to any one rail and say he was sure that Abe made that rail. Some of the older persons may remember where the old house was located. The logs with which the kitchen was built was removed and the kitchen was rebuilt on the extreme North West corner of the farm where the Gentryville road turns from the west to the south. It was afterward occupied by persons employed by the year at an agreed price per month and for help on the farm. Noah Osborne, Theo. Spurlock, A Mr. Schull and a Mr. Miller each at one time occupied the house. The removal of the frame house was to my mind an important event. The ground was covered with snow. Long timbers were put under the building for runners, Ox teams, more than could now be found in any section of southern Indiana, were collected without difficulty and by the combined power of these teams, encouraged by a number of drivers, each in charge of his own team--The house was moved to Dale and located perhaps 100 yards or more North West of the old Presbyterian church. The house was in good condition, was occupied for a time by Mr. Carleton. Pardon me for wandering so far from the questions asked. As for anything to add to your collection. I am sorry to say that I have nothing. The cupboard is loaned to Vanderburgh County Museum. We are hoping that the New Year has many and much blessings in store for you and our Dale friends.

Sincerely yours,

*G. W. Turnham*

G. W. Turnham



COPY OF LETTER from G.W. Turnham  
4610 Central Ave, Tampa. Florida  
Sept 8 1933. To

Mrs S.G. Johnson  
Dale Indiana

A small log school house with clapboard roof, erected in the latter part of the year 1840, was the only building within the original plat of the town which under the name of Elizabeth, was surveyed by Wilson Huff on the 26th day of April 1843.

Part of the land belonging to Jas. Hammond and Comencing at a stone on the line dividing the North and South halves of Sec. 17 town 4 South of Range 5 West. Running thence West 38 poles thence North 23 22/100, East 38 poles, thence South 23 22/100 poles to place of beginning, and containing 8, one half acre lots, numbered 1.21314151617181

The remainder of the land belonging to Wm. K. Jones contained an equal area, and containing lots 9 to 16, inclusive, A total area of 11 acres 4 72/100 rods including 2 streets, Main and Hammond, an addition to the original plat was surveyed by A. J. Wells Oct 15 th. 1853. Known as Gabriel Medcalf's addition containing 16 lots numbered 17 to 32 inclusive ( 1/2 acre lots) At this time the population was less than 30.--,

September 11 and 12 1855 another addition known as Jas Hammond addition- embracing 28 lots 4.8 which contained 1/2 acre each 8 lots 304/1000 of acre each, and the remainder 30/100 of acre each, and numbered 33 to 60 inclusive Survey was made by A. J. Wells, Who also made a 4th survey Apr 10/1856 known as L. Jones addition Lots 1 to 12 each 7 1/2 X 10 poles. Followed by Medcalf & Wood, addition Sept 1859. 32 30 lots (1 to 30 inclusive) 17.18. 19.20.29 and 30 each 1/2 acre Were all on S. side of Walnut St. Each of the other lots 75 poles. Total number of lots 102 or about 48 acres. ----- I commenced to copy what I had written in 1872 but found it required too much writing and much of which would be of no interest. Less than 300 residents at that date. Mention of the two tobacco ware houses, J. Hammond and J. Anderson. U. B. Church. M. E. Church. The C. P. Church had been razed and a new church was being built. ( I think the old church stood on the corner afterward occupied as a store by Father. John and myself ) No doubt several persons in and about Dale yet who can trace its history back to that date and perhaps beyond that time.

(SEE SHEET TWO )

Copied March 1954 O.V.B.



( Sheet number two---Copy of G.W.Turnham letter.1933.)

As to the old home. The frame part was moved to Dale and located N.W. of C.P. Church, South of and near Wm. Wood's residence. Mr. Carleton lived there at one time.

The log house was rebuilt on N.W. Cor. of the farm where Gentryville road turns from West to South. It was not a two story house and if provisions or anything else was kept in attic, I have no recollection of it. I do not remember any way of getting to the attic. ( This Log house is still standing on farm at Dale, and is where Abe Lincoln came to work as farm hand, and where he read the law book of 1824, when he worked for David Turnham.---See letter to O.V.B. Dale Reporter 1933.)

The only school house in Dale that I remember was South of Andersons tobacco warehouse, on the same side of street, I attended school about one mile South Dale, about commencement of the Civil War.--Margret Kenlow ? was teaching. The school seems someway associated with the name Blair, perhaps Blair school house.

I also attended school about the same distance N.W. of Dale, taught by Jass Wright (Col Wright) He left the school and enlisted in the army. I think school term was not finished--- There was a well in vacant lot adjoining the Blair school on the North to which we often went. This well may enable some of the older residents to locate the spot where the school house was.-- A History of Perry County by T.J. DeLaHunt (1915) Says John W. Ricks was the leading Merchant at Rome for several years, and established a chain of branch stores at various other points, owned a grist and saw mill, making the power at Poison creek. Having its origin & name from a spring. The waters of which was believed to have caused the death of an early hunter, about the time of the survey 1805. Ricks was an extensive pork packer-Did no Slaughtering himself-but bought the meat from farmers-who at the approach of winter gathered their hogs in large numbers and drove them to Rome for slaughtering. In each season Ricks usually sent South at least one boat load of 25000 pounds of pork besides oats, corn and produce, Also sometimes sent live cattle. Became a rich man by his trading ventures. (Ricks operated the trading post in the John Jones Log Cabin South of Dale .See page No. 272 Goodspeed History of Warrick, Spencer, and Perry County. Year 1885.) O.V.B.



STATEMENT OF MR. DAVID TURNHAM CONCERNING ABE LINCOLN, AS  
MADE TO MR. HERNDON AT TURNHAM'S HOME. 1/

Came by Aaron Grixby's--staid all night and on next day, September 15, 1865, went to Elizabeth, 4 miles from Gentryville. I went to David Turnham's. Turnham lives in Elizabeth, a town about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles northeast. Elizabeth has a population of about 300 people--same size as Gentryville. Mr. Turnham commenced:

I came to Indiana in the year 1819-- the 5th of March. Settled in Spencer County. Settled about 3 miles south of this, and almost 1 mile northeast of Thomas Lincoln's. Am now 62 years.

I knew Abraham Lincoln well-- knew his father-- didn't know his mother. Immediately on landing in Indiana I became acquainted with Mr. Lincoln. My father and his were acquaintances in Kentucky. Abe was then almost 10 years of age, I being 16 years of age. Abe was a long, tall, gangling, and odd looking boy. Went hunting and fishing together. Abe was a boy of extraordinary mind I think. Went to school together--Hazel Dorsey's and And. W. Crawford's.

Dorsey kept first I think. He kept school near the Pigeon Meeting House, about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  miles from Thomas Lincoln's and south or southeast of his house. Crawford (And.W.) taught school next. He taught about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  mile east of the Pigeon Meeting House. Dorsey kept school before the marriage of Aaron Grixby-- so did Crawford. Crawford kept school after Dorsey-- school of the next year. Our school was kept in the Fall and Winter--working in the summer. Lincoln went to school to these two men about four Winters. Didn't go steady.

I didn't go to school to Dorsey. Lincoln had a strong mind. I was older than he was by 6 years and further advanced-- but he soon outstripped me. We studied first in ?(Delworth's)? Spelling Book, second in Webster. Lincoln studied arithmetic--no Geography, nor Grammar. Lincoln read the life of Washington, Pilgrim's Progress, Robinson Crusoe, the Bible--the New Testament, Hymn books--Watt's Hymns and ?(Dorsey's)?-- Think that (he read) news papers as early as 1828 or 1830.

Saw Sarah Lincoln many times. She was a woman of ordinary size. Have seen Mordecai Lincoln. He came to Indiana on a visit about 1822-23. He was the oldest brother. Sarah Lincoln had a good mind but I did not know her so well as I did Abe. She married Aaron Grixby.

We had but few books at that time and our opportunities were poor. Abe Lincoln was a moral boy, was temperate, sometimes took his dram as everybody else at that time. He was honest, he was an industrious boy. He didn't love physical work-- wouldn't do it, if it was agreeable to all. Was always reading, studying and thinking.

---

1/Copied by R.E. Johnson from the original manuscript in Herndon's handwriting, filed with other Lincoln papers in the Library of Congress.



Taken all in all, he was not a lazy man. Lincoln sometimes hunted on Sunday. What Lincoln read, he read and reread- read and studied thoroughly. He was generally at the head of all his classes whilst at school- in fact was nearly always so.

He loved fishing and hunted some- not a great deal. He was naturally cheerful and good natured while in Indiana. Abe was a long, tall, rawboned boy- odd and gauky. He had hardly attained 6 feet, 4 inches, when he left Indiana, weighed about 160.

I bought the hogs and corn of Thomas Lincoln when he was leaving for Illinois- bought about 100 (hogs) and about 4 or 5 hundred bushels of corn- paid 10 cents per bushel for the corn- hogs lumped. Lincoln when a boy wore buckskin for pants- wore coonskin caps- sometimes fox skin and sometimes possum skin caps. Buckskin was a common dress at that time.

When Lincoln was going about, he read everything that he could lay his hands on, and it was more than probable that he read the Louisville Journal, as well as other papers before he left Indiana. And, as before remarked, what he read, he read well and thoroughly, never forgetting what he read.

The Lincolns moved to Illinois in an ox wagon- 2 yoke of oxen- wagon ironed. Lincoln sold his farm to Gentry, James Gentry, Sr., the Grixby and Josiah Crawford weddings. The production was witty and showed talent. It marked the boy as a man.

Grixby and Johnson had a fight, and Grixby would have whipt Johnson, had no foul play been used, but Bolland showed foul play. The fight took place after the marriage of Charles and Reuben Grixby.

Thomas Lincoln had about 40 acres of land under cultivation when he left for Illinois. He planted a young orchard on his old farm. Mr. Thomas Lincoln was a carpenter and cabinet maker. I have a cupboard in my house now which Mr. Thomas Lincoln made for me about 1821 or 22. Abe Lincoln had worked for my father some- worked at farming work.

To show Lincoln's -Abe's - Humanity, let me tell you a sad story. One night when Lincoln and I were returning home from Gentryville, we were passing along the road in the night, we saw something laying near us in a mud hole, and saw that it was a man. We rolled him over and over- waked up the man. He was dead drunk. The night was cold- nearly frozen. We took him up - rather Abe did- carried him to Dennis Hank's, built up a fire and got him warm. I left - Abe staid all night. We had been threshing wheat - wheat threshers had passed Lincoln's house. Lincoln stopt and took care of the poor fellow - \_\_\_\_\_ Smith. This was in the year 1825.



There was one store in Gentryville. Dont publish this man's name. He was an honorable man, having now near us excellent and near relatives. Went and took dinner with Mr. Turnham - good dinner -- good man. Abe Lincoln was not fond of the girls. Lincoln went to Gorden's mills to grind. We had hand mills here.

I knew Thomas Lincoln very well- have shared his       ? and his       ?. He was not tall- was dark skinned - was stout and muscular- not nervous nor sinewy. He weighed about 165 pounds. He was somewhat rawboned - Abe favored him in many particulars. Both were humorous, good natured, slow in action somewhat. Sarah Lincoln favored Abe. She was dark skinned, heavy built - favored Abe very much - looked alike.

I knew Dennis Hanks. He was not the truest man in the world. Would dodge, equivocate, and exaggerate. The idea that he taught Lincoln to read and write is to me preposterous. The Hanks were a peculiar people - not chaste. Dennis Hanks was a bastard -- was the son of                     . His mother married Levi Hall. Dennis Hanks married Miss Johnson, Abe Lincoln's step sister. Squire Hall married Matilda Johnson. Squire Hall was one-half brother to Hank. Squire Hall was the son (of) Levi Hall. These people were all good, clean people, I assure you, but they were peculiar.

Abe Lincoln preached the sermon (of) Jeremiah Cash. Cash had preached a sermon and Abe said he could repeat it, and we boys got him at it. Abe mounted a log and proceeded to give the text, and at it he went. He did preach almost the identical sermon. It was done with wonderful accuracy. This was in 1827.

Abe did not much like the girls - didn't appear to. We had here in early days hand mills on which - rather with which we ground our corn into meal.

(End of interview -- no signature)

Written across the margin of page 4 was the following: (Aaron Grixby says he now remembers that Lincoln read newspapers - that they were introduced about the time Al Jones came to Gentryville.)

Also, on the margin of page 5 was written: (Mallon built the Gorden Mill. Abe ground his corn there -- so says Nat Grixby -- Abe wrote his name on the arms.) (of the mill).



## TELLS HOW LINCOLN BORROWED LAW BOOK

*Son of Constable Who Loaned  
Volume for Bar Test Study Also  
Relates Other Stories.*

TAMPA, Fla., Feb. 12 (AP).—George W. Turnham, a son of the man who is said to have loaned to Abraham Lincoln the only law book available to the future President when he was educating himself, told of that incident today and also told two other stories of Lincoln which have not been widely related.

David Turnham, the father, was a neighbor of Lincoln in Spencer County, Ind. He was a constable and, according to his son, owned the only copy of the revised statutes of Indiana within a wide radius of Lincoln's home at the time. Lincoln was preparing for his bar examination and he came frequently to the Turnham home to read the book.

In later years David Turnham gave the book to W. H. Herndon, Lincoln's law partner. It is now owned by W. H. Townsend, a lawyer of Lexington, Ky., and is known as the "famous David Turnham copy of the laws of Indiana," Mr. Turnham said.

He also told this story:

"Lincoln, running for Congress in 1844, spoke near Elizabeth (now Dale), Ind. He was illustrating what he said was an evasion of the issues by his opponent.

"A boy went to a circus and bought a ginger cake. He decided he would rather have some cider. So he traded the cake for the cider. After he had drunk it the circus man asked for his pay.

"'But I gave you the ginger cake for the cider,' the boy said. The circus man asked for the price of the cake. 'I didn't eat the cake—I gave it back to you,' replied the boy."

Here is another incident which Mr. Turnham told:

"The Lincolns' ox strayed one day. My father, David, caught it. Abe came after it. Father opened the barn door and out came the animal at a gallop. The last father saw of Abe he was astride the ox, beating it with his hat as it headed toward home."



#### SON OF MAN WHO LENT LAW BOOK TELLS LINCOLN STORY

Tampa, Fla.—A son of the man who is said to have lent Abraham Lincoln the only law book available when the Emancipator was educating himself, told of that incident recently and related two other stories of Lincoln not generally heard.

The narrator was George Turnham, whose father, David Turnham, was a neighbor of Lincoln in Spencer county, Indiana. He said his father, a constable, owned the only copy of the Revised Statutes of Indiana within a wide radius of Lincoln's home at the time. The future president was preparing for his bar examination and he came frequently to the Turnham home to avail himself of the book.

In later years David Turnham gave the book to W. H. Herndon, Lincoln's law partner. It is now owned by W. H. Townsend, an attorney, of Lexington, Ky., and is known as "the famous David Turnham copy of the Laws of Indiana," Turnham said.

He also told this story:

Lincoln, running for the congress in 1841, spoke near Elizabethtown (now Dale) Ind. He was illustrating what he said was an evasion of the issues by his opponent.

"A boy went to a circus and bought a ginger cake," Lincoln related. "He decided he would rather have some cider. So he traded the cake for the cider. After he drank the cider the circus man asked for his pay."

"But I gave you the ginger cake for the cider," the boy said. The circus man asked for the price of the cake. "I didn't eat the cake—I gave it back to you," replied the boy."



## Departure of Lincolns for Illinois Described by Boyhood Hoosier Friend

BY ANDREW M. SWEENEY.

The question of which course or direction the Lincolns followed in leaving Indiana in 1830—whether by way of Boonville

to Petersburg and Vincennes, or by Jasper to Ireland, or to Portersville in White river, has caused much embittered discussion in the southern Indiana press, and it is still unsolved.

I began to think that their tour to Illinois would assume the importance of the wanderings of the ancient Ulysses from Troy to Ithaca, and that I might become a modern Homer, writing a new Odyssey on a new Trojan war.

### Indicates Spot.

One Sunday, while sauntering over the Lincoln farm with Uncle Jimmy Grigsby, he said:

"Right on this spot we neighbors said good-by to the Lincolns in 1830. I was 14 years old then."



A. M. Sweeney.

The spot he showed me was nearly a quarter of a mile from the Lincoln cabin, southwesterly.

"The wagon, with two yokes of oxen hitched, stood right over there, facing that way," he said, as he pointed toward Gentryville. "After an hour or more spent talking here, Tom looked up in the sky and said, 'Folks, the sun is getting high and we must be going.' He looked around among the people there and then asked, in a loud, angry voice, 'Where is that tarnal Abe?' Off somewhere with an old book."

### Off for Illinois.

"He then bent his right first finger, and fixing it between his teeth, blew a shrill whistle, which echoed through the forest. In three or four minutes Abe came running down that hill toward us, from the direction of his mother's grave, wiping his eyes with the back of his big, soiled hand. The neighbor women, seeing his sad face, wept too. Tom, for once, was mute, said not a word, but handed the long-lashed whip to Abe. Abe shook me up in shaking my hands, and smiled, waving good-by to his few homespun, Hoosier neighbors. Then he cracked his whip, the teams started, the heavy wagon creaked and they were all on their way to Illinois."



654 N. Columbia St.  
Frankfort, Indiana

April 13, 1938

Dear Mr. Warren:

I have often seen your name in print in connection with my reading on the life of Abraham Lincoln, but I have only lately learned of your connection with the Lincoln Life Insurance Company. I congratulate them upon securing the services of a real Lincoln scholar.

I should like very much to examine data which would determine the county and township to which the Lincolns moved in Indiana in 1816. Can you tell me where I can find such data? The maps which I have been able to locate are not sufficiently large to give the townships. I would very much appreciate your information on the subject, since I know you have approached it in a very definite way, if at all.

May I have your assistance? Also, I would like to have the weekly bulletins of the Lincoln Nat'l. Life Insurance Co. sent to me if I am eligible to them? I have been reading and studying the life of Lincoln for twenty-three years, and cannot express my interest in everything of value that has been printed concerning him. It would be a privilege to receive these bulletins, I assure you. Please accept in advance my very sincere thanks for your assistance.

Very truly yours,

*Isaphine Richey*  
(Miss) Isaphine Richey

Louis A. Warren  
Lincoln Nat'l. Life Insurance Co.  
Ft. Wayne, Indiana



10  
654 N. Columbia St.  
Frankfort, Indiana

April 19, 1938

Dr. Louis A. Warren, Director  
Lincoln Nat'l Life Foundation  
Mt. Wayne, Indiana

Dear Mr. Warren:

I wish to thank you for your letter of the 15th, relative to the location of the farm on which Abraham Lincoln lived. I notice that you say you can furnish further evidence as to the location of it. Is this information open to my perusal, and does it give the township in which the land lay? I hope you will not believe that I in any way doubt the authority of your investigations, contrary, I do not know where I could rely upon such thorough investigation as you have made, but I should like to know what the sources are, if you will bear with me concerning it.

I am also very much interested in locating the name of the newspaper, Louisville, which he read at William Jones' so the biographers say. Most of them give the name of the Louisville Journal, but I have the data that the Journal was first issued November 24, 1830. Lincoln having left the state in March would preclude his having obtained much information from that source. I presume, however, it is a point which cannot be cleared up.

I was very happy to receive the last two numbers of your bulletin, as well as that relating to the farm of Thomas Lincoln's. Again may I thank you for your assistance.

Very truly yours,

*Isaphine Richey*  
Isaphine Richey

Some of the authorities say Carter Twshp. some Hurricane. This of course in the year 1816. I shall be grateful if you will clear this up. Thank you.

I. M. R.



April 22, 1938

Isaphine Richey  
654 North Columbia Street  
Frankfort, Indiana

My dear Madam:

With respect to the identical names of townships in Indiana at the time the Lincolns moved there I think it is quite certain that Thomas Lincoln established his home in what was then Hurricane Township, Perry County. Hurricane Township was sometimes called Lamar Township but after 1818 when Spencer County was set apart from Perry County the township in which the Lincolns were living was named Carter Township, which I think is the history of the confusion about the Lincoln home site. The change in county lines caused the naming of new townships, which I trust may answer your question with reference to the confusion.

Authors who have mentioned the fact that Lincoln took the Louisville Journal have probably drawn conclusions which are erroneous with respect to its origin, although Lincoln did take the Louisville Journal nearly his whole lifetime from the time of its publication.

I have never done much work on the early Louisville papers, although it is generally accepted that one of the Louisville papers did go into the Lincoln home. There was a paper called the Louisville Correspondent which was published as early as 1814.

If you would write to the Secretary of the Filson Club, Louisville, Kentucky, I believe they could give you exact information as to the papers published in Louisville previous to 1830.

Very truly yours,

Director

LAW:EB



April 15, 1938

Miss Isaphine Richey  
654 N. Columbia St.  
Frankfort, Indiana

My dear Madam:

You will please find enclosed a copy of Lincoln Lore No. 450 which I think definitely locates the farm on which Abraham Lincoln lived in Indiana. If this broadside does not carry sufficient information, we will be pleased to submit further evidence as to the location of the home.

4/18/38  
Your name is being placed on our mailing list to receive the publication and the two last numbers are also enclosed.

Very truly yours,

LAW:BS  
Enc.

Director



654 N. Columbia St.  
Frankfort, Indiana

September 5, 1938.

Dear Dr. Warren:

I have been engaged for some time in compiling a bibliography of the books dealing specifically with the life of Abraham Lincoln in Indiana; also those containing valuable supplementary information concerning it. I have given in each case a brief resume of the contents, and in some cases pointed out errors of fact, interpretation and workmanship. In fact, it is a critical survey treated in a limited manner.

So far as I have been able to learn, no work of this character has been undertaken before, but I have felt it would be valuable for the formation of a well-defined field of investigation for comparative study.

The bibliography at present includes:

Atkinson, Eleanor.	The Boyhood of Lincoln.	1908.
Murr, J. Edward.	Lincoln in Indiana.	1917.
Vannest, Chas. G.	Lincoln, the Hoosier.	1928.
Ehrmann, Bess V.	The Missing Chapter.	1938.

Supplementary:

Tarbell, Ida M.	The Early Life of Abraham Lincoln.	1896
Hobson, J. T.	Footprints of Abraham Lincoln.	1909.
Townsend, W. H.	Lincoln, the Litigant.	1926.
Beveridge, A. J.	Life of Lincoln.	1926.
Marsh, Susan	Young Abe Lincoln.	1929.
Sandburg, Carl	Abe Lincoln Grows Up.	
Lockridge, Ross	A. Lincoln.	

Many months ago I appealed to Dr. Paul M. Angle for a list and have incorporated them in my survey. I have exhausted the material offered at the State Library. Now as a court of last resort I am writing you to see if you can add suggestive material. In the bibliography published in your book "Lincoln's Parentage and Childhood," I have culled the following names which seem pertinent: Butterworth, The Boyhood of Lincoln, Mudge, Z. A. The Forest Boy, Thayer, Wm. M. The Pioneer Boy. Do they deal with this period in his life? I may not be able to secure them for review, but I can attempt it.

Miss McNitt of the State Library thinks I should include a bibliography of the articles included in the Indiana Bulletins, <sup>Proceedings of the Indiana Historical and Genealogical Society</sup> Historical Conferences, and Magazines of History. Perhaps I shall later if I do not in this article.

May I take this opportunity of congratulating you upon the character of your work in Kentucky. That is the sort of thing we need in Indiana more than anything else. I enjoy the Lincoln Lore you send, I believe you send it to our Public Library also, at least I told the librarian to have you do so.

I should like to thank you in advance for any assistance you may give me.

Very truly yours,

*Isaphine Richey*  
(Miss) Isaphine Richey.

Dr. Louis A. Warren, Director  
Lincoln Foundation  
Ft. Wayne, Indiana.



September 8, 1938

Miss Isaphine Richey  
654 N. Columbia St.  
Frankfort, Indiana

My dear Madam:

Your attempt to compile a bibliography of books dealing specifically with the life of Abraham Lincoln is certainly worth while, although I think you will be greatly disappointed in discovering any large number of them.

With reference to the four books by Atkinson, Murr, Vannest, and Ehrmann, I believe the only two you can probably list in this grouping are the last two. J. Edward Murr's articles have never appeared in book form and they would have to be included in magazine articles. Eleanor Atkinson's work is about half on the Indiana years and the and would come under, I should say, a supplemental text.

If you include such books in your supplemental list as W. H. Townsend's "Lincoln, the Litigant" you would have to include nearly every book in Lincolniana which gives an incident happening in the Indiana days. Certainly it should not be grouped with such a very fine early source books as Tarbell's "Early Life of Abraham Lincoln" or Beveridge's "Life of Lincoln."

It appears to me you might probably make three divisions, calling the third possibly incidentals, and dealing in incidents in Indiana.

Butterworth and Mudge's works are misleading in title and has very little Lincoln information, but Thayer's "The Pioneer Boy" does have considerable Indiana data.

Tarbell's "Boysenutt Life of Lincoln" is most certainly placed among the supplemental books.

It appears to me that if your work is to be at all exhaustive, you must get in contact with some good Lincoln library such as the one at Chicago University or the one here at Fort Wayne where there has been a real



654 N. Columbia St.  
Frankfort, Indiana

November 4, 1938

Dr. Louis A. Warren, Director  
Lincoln National Life Foundation  
Ft. Wayne, Indiana

Dear Sir:

I wish to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of September 8th, written in answer to mine written to you concerning my attempt to compile a bibliography of the books written upon the Indiana years of Abraham Lincoln. Absence from home and illness have prevented my writing you sooner, although I very deeply appreciated your kind and helpful letter.

I note what you had to say concerning there being very few books dealing with this specific phase of Lincoln's life. I had come to that conclusion myself long before I received your letter. I also have noted your advice to contact a library dealing with Lincolniana in an exhaustive way. I realize that this will be necessary before I can conclude the work, but have not had the opportunity thus far. Possibly if I do it at all I will work in Springfield, Illinois. I was very much surprised after working in the Indiana division of the State Library, with little assistance from the librarians, going to the stacks and selecting my books, having them sent to me for study and analysis, to have them send me a list of books dealing with the subject, that is, a bibliography on the same subject. I had been beseiging the place for a year on the subject and all at once they decide they should make the bibliography themselves of their books. I found it thoroughly disheartening, to have evolved the idea, worked on it for almost a year and then have them take over the idea, work it out in a more or less successful way, and send me their list long after I had worked one out by dint of hard labor. I scarcely knew what to make of their taking over my idea. By the way, they sent their list after I had written you and sent you my unfinished one. Have you had this experience? Had I not sent you my list before theirs appeared it would have looked much as if I had copied theirs. The girl in the division to whom I talked about it owned that she had learned something from me on the subject.

May I ask a favor of you out of the fullness of your experience in searching for records and data? What would be the most accurate way in which to find whether a certain person lived in a town in a certain year? The year is 1826. Would the State Library have a census of the town in that year? I would be so very much obliged to you for advice in the matter.

Oh yes, you criticized in your letter my use of Townsend's "Lincoln, the Litigant". I included it because I felt he was thoroughly able to cope with it from a legal standpoint, that is, the "Ferry Trial" and had made an exhaustive search for source material. I still think I am justified in calling attention to his work on this subject. Thanks, however, for your sincere and frank criticism. I have taken your suggestions to heart and am grateful for them.

Very truly yours,  
Isaph ne Richey.

*Isaph ne Richey*



8

654 N. Columbia St.  
Frankfort, Indiana

November 29, 1938.

Dear Sir:


Thank you very much for your letter of November 10th, in which you express such a hearty interest in my project, a bibliography on the subject of Lincoln in Indiana. I note you spoke of your belief in a demand for such a work. Do you believe that there would be a commercial value in it? I should like to think there was for I have been handicapped in carrying the work through by a lack of funds, a pretty general ailment I imagine.

If I can carry on I will include all magazine articles dealing exclusively with his life in our state. I do not believe that I will find many more books, if any, than I have already found on the subject. Therefore the bulk of the work now would concern itself with the magazine articles. Our library is inadequate for the work I feel sure although I have not given it much attention on that score as yet. If I could work uninterruptedly in an adequate library I could soon compile it I believe. As a casual remark I would like to state that it is surprising what inaccuracies biographers will allow themselves to make. I have found some that would make it seem the author was off visiting when it was written.

Please read through the lines that I have been very much gratified by your courtesy to me. I am enclosing an article which was published by the Indianapolis News last year. You will note that I have some inaccuracies included myself. Some of them I tried to delete after I had submitted the article but was unsuccessful. I now know that the Life of Washington Lincoln borrowed from Josiah Crawford was not Weem's but I did not know it then. I am sending it because you have been interested in my work and I thought you might like to read something of mine.

Very truly yours,

Isaphine Richey



Dr. Louis A. Warren, Director  
Lincoln National Foundation  
Ft. Wayne, Indiana.



December 7, 1938

Esaphine Richey  
654 North Columbia Street  
Frankfort, Indiana

My dear Madam:

I am sure that you need not expect any remuneration whatever from any bibliography you might prepare on Lincoln in Indiana, in fact, a good history of Lincoln seldom pays the author anything, and it would certainly be a waste of time if you anticipate any remuneration whatever from the efforts you would put forth.

It seems to me there is a very excellent field for just such articles as you released in your clipping from the Indianapolis News on February 12, 1938, and there is also a good field for magazine reproductions, but I cannot feel there would be any remuneration whatever coming from any bibliography, books or magazines on Lincoln in Indiana.

Very truly yours,

LAW:EB

Director



# LINCOLN FERRY PARK

**T**HIS is the site of Lincoln Ferry. Here, as a Hoosier youth, Abraham Lincoln spent about nine months of his seventeenth year (1825-26) operating a ferry across Anderson Creek for James Taylor.

The road, at that time crossed the creek, known then as Anderson River, between the present bridge and the Ohio River. There was no bridge and Anderson Creek was deep and often swollen so that it was dangerous, if not impossible to ford it. The crossing then was made on Taylor's flatboat which had capacity for one team and wagon. Both sides of Anderson's River, and the place to which Thomas Lincoln in 1816 brought his family from Kentucky, had been in Perry County. It was made a dividing line when Spencer County was formed out of the western part of Perry by Act of the General Assembly January 10, 1818.

Little has come down to us in writing from this period of Lincoln's life. Much is reflected in his later experiences and much has been handed down by tradition. His wages, which were paid to his father were six dollars per month—twenty-five cents per day. He proved so efficient as a county butcher, however, that he received an extra six cents per day during butchering season. At seventeen he was already full grown and of notable strength. He did "the roughest work a young man could be made to do." In later life he used expressions reminiscent of the tasks which here had strained his long, strong arms. Once when dignified visitors at the White House expressed sympathy for the President because of the terrible burden war put upon him, he surprised them by saying in an absent-minded way: "Yes, it's sure a hard hog to hold."

At the mouth of Anderson's River was a little settlement which later, in 1811, was platted as Maxville; it flourished for several decades, but with the decline of river traffic passed away. The first steam-boat had passed this place less than fifteen years before. Even before Maxville became a village, the mouth of Anderson Creek was a notable stopping, landing, and loading place. It became a favorite loafing place for men and boys of the community, both during day time and evening. Here around a campfire while waiting for passengers, Lincoln enjoyed many happy hours, telling stories and taking part in rough country frolics. He was just then reaching his full height of six feet and four inches. On every foot of this ground, he ran and jumped and wrestled with the husky youths and strong men of this pioneer river settlement.

Just entering also upon his greatest awakening of mental curiosity and his intellectual enjoyment of all human contacts, he cultivated his growing habit of story telling here while listening with interest to the yarns of men who had been in many strange places. The rivermen and the steam-boat travelers were of vast interest to him. He boarded many of the boats and talked with all, both passenger and crew, thus broadening his views of the outside world.

He must have observed many remarkable flotillas here and certainly came in intimate contact with some of them. During that very time, probably early in January 1826, the famous Boatload of Knowledge conducted by Robert Owen and William Maclure with their illustrious company of teachers, scientists and artists, passed this way on their voyage to New Harmony. Young Robert Dale Owen was on that boat. He was destined to influence President Lincoln greatly in his preparation and issuance of the Proclamation of Emancipation by a famous letter that "stirred the President like a trumpet call."

A few months earlier, probably May 1825, the Marquis de LaFayette went up the Ohio past this place and was wrecked upon the huge rock at LaFayette Springs just above Cannelton, some twelve miles from here. LaFayette was compelled to camp there around a campfire at the spring in the rock for several hours, attracting the attention of the whole countryside.

Here on the Ohio River Lincoln earned the first dollar he could rightly call his own. Ambitious to do something for himself, for his regular pay went to his father, he built a flatboat large enough to take a few passengers or a few barrels from the shore to passing steamers when he was off duty at the ferry. He told the story one day in a cabinet meeting; Secretary Seward wrote it down in the President's own words:

"I was contemplating my new boat, and wondering whether I could make it stronger or improve it in any part, when two men with trunks came down to the shore in carriages, and asked, 'Will you,' said one of them, 'take us and our trunks out to the steamer?' 'Certainly,' said I. I was very glad to have the chance of earning something, and supposed that each of them would give me a couple of bits. The trunks were put in my boat, the passengers seated themselves on them, and I sculled them out to the steamer. They got on board, and I lifted the trunks and put them on the deck. The steamer was about to put on steam again, when I called out, 'You have forgotten to pay me.' Each of them took from his pocket a silver half dollar and threw it on the bottom of my boat."

Here the President paused and gave thoughtful emphasis to the remainder of his statement.

"I could scarcely believe my eyes as I picked up the money. You may think it was a very little thing, and in these days it seems to me like a trifle, but it was a most important incident in my life. I could scarcely credit that I, a poor boy, had earned a dollar in less than a day; that by honest work I had earned a dollar. The world seemed wider and fairer before me. I was a more hopeful and thoughtful boy from that time."

One of young Lincoln's first experience with the law grew out of his traffic between the shore and passing steamboats. A Kentuckian, John T. Dill, had a license for the Ohio River ferry. He hailed Lincoln before a Kentucky Justice of the Peace, Samuel Pate, for operating a ferry in Kentucky without a license. The jurisdiction of Kentucky ran to the low watermark on the Indiana side. Lincoln's defense was that he only took passengers to steamboats in midstream when the ferry boat was on the other side and there was no other way to get them to steamboats which would neither land nor wait. He did not operate a ferry for passengers, because he did not "set them over the river" and for this Kentucky did not require a license. The case was dismissed by Justice Pate. After that, Lincoln went to his court, when he could, to hear him try other cases.

Beginning with his flatboat experience here at Anderson Creek, Lincoln broadened his river activities rapidly. In 1827, he worked several weeks as a day laborer on the Portland Canal around the Falls of the Ohio at Louisville, and in 1828, then nineteen years old, he embarked with another boy, Allen Gentry, on a flatboat from near Rockport for the long trip down the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans to sell produce for Allen's father, James Gentry, the storekeeper of the Lincoln neighborhood. He made the trip to New Orleans by flatboat again after he moved to Illinois—this time down by the Sangamon and Illinois rivers to the Mississippi. When he was nominated for president a dispatch from Rockport, May 21, 1860, recalled his days on the great rivers: "Old flatboat men claim him as one of their number, and as he was a safe pilot in guiding hundreds of boats through the tortuous windings of the Father of Waters so they are quite willing to trust him with the helm of the ship of state."

Lincoln's flatboat experiences, had some practical results. While practicing law at Springfield, Illinois, he invented and patented a device for improving the handling of flatboats. His intimate knowledge of flatboats was responsible for a unique development in the history of naval warfare during the Civil War. When the Swedish inventor, John Ericson, was turned down by the Navy Department on a new model that consisted simply of two heavy guns on a revolving turret mounted on a broad, flat surface, like the deck of a flatboat, the persistent Swede appealed to the President. Lincoln was interested immediately. He said "I'm not an authority on battleships but I am an expert on flatboats and this looks to me like it is built on sound flatboat principles." He accompanied the Swede to the Navy Department and insisted on a trial. The result was the Monitor—a cheese box on a raft, which won that signal victory over the Merrimac, March 9, 1862.

The Ohio River is the River of Lincoln. It flowed through the spirit of his youth, even as it flowed through the heart of America. With loved ones buried on both sides of the river he could not conceive of it as a hostile border between countries. It was a channel of communication leading from the Old South-land to the Old Northwest.

Standing here, on ground once pressed by his feet, gazing out upon the river and the Kentucky shore, we may enter into something of the formative influences which determined the career of Lincoln, and understand that the Ohio and its tributaries could stamp themselves into the thoughts of the young Lincoln until it was inconceivable that the North and the South could be divided.

"Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. It is impossible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before. Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when after much loss on both sides and no gain on either you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you."

"Born in Kentucky, raised in Indiana," as he later said, he spoke from the heart in his first inaugural address to the people of both North and South:

"We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

Just northwest of here on State Road 162 is Nancy Hanks Lincoln State Park and the New Lincoln Union Memorial recently erected there.

Follow Lincoln Trail to Vincennes and see the George Rogers Clark Memorial and Bridge.

Northeast of here on State Road 66 is LaFayette Springs. West of here, where State Road 65 crosses into Illinois is historic New Harmony with its Labyrinth and Reppite buildings.

North on State Road 37 you will find Spring Mill State Park with its pioneer village and underground streams.

This park, dedicated October 1, 1939, is one of a system of Statewide Roadside Parks maintained for the convenience and pleasure of the traveler in Indiana. For longer stops visit the State Parks where you will find splendid vacation facilities provided by the State Conservation Department in the beauty spots of Indiana. We trust your journey will have been more interesting, more pleasant, and safer because of your rest at this spot. Drive carefully and visit Indiana often.

STATE HIGHWAY COMMISSION of INDIANA



654 N. Columbia St.  
Frankfort, Indiana

May 1, 1939

Dear Mr. Warren:

Some time ago I wrote asking you to direct me as to the best course to take to ascertain whether there was a certain man living in a certain town in the year 1825. You very kindly sent me an answer saying in part: that the United States Census of 1820 and 1830 could be found at the State Library, which might possibly give me the desired information. You also stated the County office where I would be most likely to obtain it. Unfortunately I have mislaid the letter and although I acted on your advice concerning the record at the State Library, I was not able to definitely decide the matter. I became ill before I could write the office you proposed and have only now been able to look into it.

Would you then, be so very obliging as to repeat the information for my benefit? I shall be very grateful to you.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Isaphine Richey". The signature is fluid and elegant, with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

Isaphine Richey.

Dr. Louis A. Warren  
Director,  
Lincoln National Life Foundation  
Ft. Wayne, Indiana



654 N. Columbia St.  
Frankfort, Indiana

June 27, 1943.

Dr. Louis A. Warren  
Ft. Wayne, Indiana

My dear Mr. Warren:-

In your bulletin of Lincoln Lore-No. 519- paragraph 5, concerning the newspaper the "Western Sun," I notice this statement: "These papers are known to have been available to the Lincoln family then living in Spencer County.

I should like very much to know, if you will be so kind as to tell me, what proof there is that these copies (1824) of the Sun were available to the Lincoln's. I have been trying for years to trace any proof that a particular newspaper was subscribed for by any of Mr Lincoln's neighbors here in Indiana. Thus far I have only succeeded in proving that there is no proof and that all of the statements are mere assumptions. Disheartening as the undertaking has been I believe that I may have a better knowledge of this particular field than most, since I know of no one who has tried to unravel each thread that appears so confidently in the biographies.

I have been much interested in the evolution of Abraham Lincoln's politics. And while I feel reasonably sure that Henry Clay was *largely* responsible for his deviating from the political belief of his family, I have not yet been able to substantiate by proof that belief.

I do feel, however, that I have a better knowledge of the field through my research.

I shall appreciate an answer to my inquiry. You have always been most kind and helpful when I have appealed to you.

Last week I received a copy of the Lincoln Herald from Harrogate, Tenn. It is the first copy I have seen and I found it unusually interesting. I have no way of knowing how or why it was sent to me. I have been a Lincoln student for twenty-five years albeit an obscure one.

Thank you for the faithful sending to me of Lincoln Lore. With all good wishes for you, I am

Sincerely,

*Isaphine Richey*  
(Miss) Isaphine Richey



July 1, 1943

Miss Isaphine Richey  
654 North Columbia St.  
Frankfort, Ind.

My dear Miss Richey:

Your letter of June 27 is before me and your inquiry about early newspapers.

I think your question may be answered by the enclosed copy of Lincoln Lore No. 629. I have myself seen the book list of subscribers of the Terre Haute Register containing the name of William Jones and I am very sure that William Jones also took the Western Sun as many of Lincoln's neighbors undoubtedly did. I am very sure it is something more than just mere assumption that Lincoln had a thorough knowledge of the contents of early newspapers.

The article you prepared for the Indianapolis News of February 12, 1938 mentions the half-faced camp in which the Lincoln lived. I also enclose another Lincoln Lore which may help you, I think, to contradict that statement whenever the opportunity avails itself.

Also with respect to Weemes' Life of Washington which you have confused with Ramsey's Life of Washington, for which he actually secured when he first began to read but the Ramsey Washington was not until Crawford reached Indiana in 1826. The Weemes book he tells us he Abraham Lincoln says himself that he has always been a Whig in politics so there was no change in his political viewpoint. Whether or not his father was always a Democrat is a matter of conjecture.

We are very glad, indeed, to make these few little items available.

Very truly yours,

LAW:EB  
Encs.

Director



Richey, Isaphine

654 N. Columbia St.  
Frankfort, Indiana

July 13, 1943.

Dr. Louis A. Warren, Director  
Lincoln Nat'l. Life Foundation  
Ft. Wayne, Indiana

Dear Dr. Warren:

Thank you for your letter of July 1st with its three enclosures. The Lincoln Lore no. 279 was new to me. I had known for a long time that the subscription list for the Terre Haute Register contained the name of Wm. Jones, Mckport, Ind. in 1825. I have just been trying to draw a little closer to the truth as to which newspapers Lincoln read while in Indiana if such a thing is possible.

With reference to the two errors you pointed out in my article of 1938. I wrote it five years ago when my interest in the Indiana portion of Lincoln's life was not so keen. Since then I have been studying and doing some research work, hence I had found these errors some time ago. There was also another error in the article which you did not point out. However, deeply chagrined as I always am when I find that I have added to the sum total of erroneous statements anent Lincoln, I take heart when I find them in such really fine works as those of Beveridge's and Sandburg's (both in the Indiana portion) and feel that I am not in such bad company after all. I think that indeed the study of Lincolniana has become of such monumental proportions, that most writers of him might at some time say as did Dr. Samuel Johnson. <sup>when</sup> A lady asked him why he had given the incorrect definition of the word "bridle" in his Dictionary — "Ignorance, Madame, ignorance," he replied.

About the half-faced camp. I wrote an article in 1941, Indpls. Star on the Indiana Lincoln Cabin, in which I pointed out the facts about the camp. Also I have given a talk before the Clinton Co. Historical Society where I again smote the half-faced camp hip and thigh. One of the teachers present said "And I have to teach that year after year." Dont do it, I said to her, teach the truth. I knew also that Dennis Hanks had said that it was not the Weems Washington but "Ramsey's" <sup>or a</sup> Perhaps you would be interested in knowing that this "Life of George Washington, Commander in Chief of the Armies of the U. S. of America etc." was written by Dand Ramsay, not Ramsey, and first published in 1807.

Thanks for all help. We are all searchers after truth and may we all prosper only in-so-far as we touch the hem of her garment.

Very truly yours,

Isaphine Richey

(Miss) Isaphine Richey.



654 North Columbia Street  
Frankfort, Indiana

July 31, 1943.

Dr. Louis A. Warren, Editor  
Lincoln Lore  
Lincoln National Life Foundation  
Ft. Wayne, Indiana

Dear Dr. Warren:

I would greatly appreciate it if you would tell me whether, in your opinion, it would be possible to determine any of the school sites in Spencer County, where Abraham Lincoln attended school-through the court Records? I know through having read Lincoln Lore, No. 413, that there is a deed book in Spencer County extending as far back as 1830, which of course is not sufficiently early for this purpose. I also know that the fire in 1830 destroyed many valuable records in the Spencer County Court House, but I do not know that it destroyed all of them. Hence I am referring the matter to you since I know that you are familiar with the records there. I know this through having read many of your articles.

In talking with one of the old-timer lawyers here in Frankfort about this matter, he assured me that he would not know how to trace through court Records any of the old school sites in Clinton County, our county *was* established in 1830. This was due to the fact, according to him, that land deeded by any individual to the township for school purposes became non-taxable and was lost sight of. Or if an individual donated part of his land for that purpose it became non-taxable, for the time being at least, and non-existent so far as the court records were concerned. I approached him on two separate occasions on the subject matter and each time he said that he did not know how it could be done and ventured his opinion that it would be worse than "looking for a needle in a haystack." However, knowing your success in solving many difficult problems in Lincolniana, I felt I should like to know what you thought about it. Wont you please give me the benefit of your valuable experience in running down documentary proof?

I find my Lincoln Lore invaluable to me and thank you, inaudibly, each time I receive it. Thanks also in advance for any assistance.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Isaphine Richey". The signature is written in dark ink and has a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.

(Miss) Isaphine Richey



August 13, 1943

Miss Isaphine Richey  
654 North Columbia Street  
Frankfort, Indiana

My dear Madam:

I have not had so much experience in the Indiana courts as I have in the Kentucky records but nearly always in the old road reports and changes of roads is designated the buildings by which the roads pass and very, very often schoolhouses were mentioned. In fact the schoolhouse which Abraham Lincoln attended while a boy in Kentucky I happened to locate in a road audit. It suggested that the road should leave the main road opposite the North Creek schoolhouse which very definitely located it.

Of course the Spencer County records are very *frequent* but if there was any exchange of land by those living close to the schoolhouse it is quite likely the boundaries would mention the school.

I think we have had to rely mostly upon the *traditions* of the old people with respect to the locations of the schools and I would not know where to point you to any court documents which would definitely confirm *the location*

Regret very much I cannot be of more help to you in this instance, I am

Very truly yours,

LAW:WM

Director



654 North Columbia Street  
Frankfort, Indiana

August 23, 1943

Dr. Louis A. Warren, Director  
Lincoln National Life Foundation  
Ft. Wayne, Indiana

Dear Dr. Warren:

I sincerely appreciated your letter of August 13th. Indeed, I am deeply in debt to you for your continued assistance whenever I have appealed to you. And not only for your assistance but for your kindness, forbearance and patience with my calling upon you for advice and guidance. I am hoping that perchance some day it may fall to my lot to help some other Lincolnian in some small way, if that time should come I wish you to know that you have shown me how to be generous and continuedly kind. Please accept my grateful thanks for the material and spiritual benefits I have received from our correspondence.

I have not sent you, not that I think you would derive any benefit from receiving them, my other two articles which were published in the Indianapolis Star, because despite all of my efforts an error occurred in each of them. One was written on Sarah Lincoln Grigsby, after I had talked with her great-nephew, Eli L. Grigsby, at Gentryville. I could not discover while there who had been responsible for her tombstone. I questioned everybody I could contact on it. Mr. Grigsby thought the Grigsby family did it, but I was pretty sure they didn't, since they hadn't even placed her name on her husband's who died such a short time after she did. In reading over some articles in the Indiana Mag. of Hist. I saw that the State Legislature made some mention, I do not remember just now the connection, of a recognition of the stone and I deduced that the State had placed it there and so stated in my article. Later, after the article was published and they would have selected that item for the caption, I read in a pamphlet by C. C. Schreeder that Spencer County was responsible for the monument. Which is right I do not know but I did not send the article to you because of that error. The other on the Lincoln Cabin chagrined me not a little too, for the entire theme of it was to prove that the picture of it we see is not, and was not, <sup>the cabin they lived in</sup> the cabin they lived in. Yet a picture of it appeared with the article stating that- "In 1816 ~~the~~ Lincoln lived Here." It was most vexatious and yet amusing too. Just poor editing I suppose. So that you were also deprived of that article, ~~too~~.

A long letter, but I almost feel that I can converse with you through the printed page. Many thanks for making me feel easy with you and acting as my mentor whenever I call on you.

Very truly yours,

*Isaphine Richey*  
Isaphine Richey



RUTGERS UNIVERSITY  
NEW BRUNSWICK NEW JERSEY

ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

April 10, 1940

Dr. Louis A. Warren  
Lincoln National Life Insurance Co.  
Fort Wayne, Indiana

Dear Brother Warren:

I have noted from time to time news items about you in the Pi Kappa Alpha Shield and Diamond and it, therefore, occurred to me that you might possibly be interested in the enclosed pamphlet entitled, "Abraham Lincoln, Seventy-five Years After."

With every good wish, I am

Fraternally yours,

  
J. Harold Johnston

enclosure



April 15, 1940

Mr. J. Harold Johnston, Asst. to Pres.  
Rutgers University  
New Brunswick, N. J.

My dear Brother Johnston:

It was very thoughtful of  
you indeed to forward the interesting brochure  
by Philip van Doren and we are pleased indeed  
to have it for our Lincoln Library.

On January 30 I happened to be  
in New Brunswick for an address before the Kiwanis  
Club and regret I did not have an opportunity to  
meet you at that time. I trust I may have that  
pleasure on my next visit to your city.

Very truly yours,

LAN:BS

Director



Dale Ind. Nov 23 - 42  
 Dr Louis A. Warren.

Dear Sir. Enclosed please

find 50cts for which you will please send  
 me your pamphlet. The Lincoln Hoosier  
 Pioneers. as advertised in Lincolniana

Did you ever get the correct location  
 of the Gentry Mill? a few

Sundays ago. Ora Brown and I  
 were browsing around. looking at  
 some old papers. and found an ab-  
 stract of the Thurman farm. It  
 gave the information that Jas.  
 Gentry entered the land. that he  
 and Ben Pomine built a mill  
 and Dam on the Creek. also a  
 Brick Kilo in 1824. that in  
 1835. the Davis got them in  
 financial troubles and suits were  
 brought and Litigation followed till  
 about 1850. all fully set out in  
 the abstract. we went over to the  
 Dam Site. there as plain as ever with  
 30 or more well preserved Logs showing  
 at the Bottom of the Dam. also  
 quite a few signs of the Brick Kilo  
 oven.



But its Miles from where I always  
thought it was. It is about  
10 miles from Lincoln home, on a  
direct line with Rockport.

I sent you a long time ago a  
copy of a paper read here at a  
Spencer County Historical Society  
meeting. I always wondered if you  
ever received it. I think  
the Memorial Building here at  
the Park must have struck a  
bug.

Nothing doing any more  
It is almost completed. I  
would be might glad to see you  
any time you are down this  
way -

Very Truly  
S Grant Johnson  
Dale  
Ind.



Johnson, I Grant

December 8, 1942

Mr. S. Grant Johnson  
Dale, Indiana

My dear Mr. Johnson:

It is always a pleasure to hear from you and I am especially interested in the old site of the Gentry and Romine mill and hope I may go to the old place it was located some time.

I am away so much of the time that much of the material that is sent here comes during my absence although we do make it a rule to answer and acknowledge all mail. I regret that we have not thanked you for the paper read before the Spencer County Historical Society Meeting before this. I do not expect to be down in southern Indiana before spring.

Very truly yours,

LAW:WM

Director



Journal, 1880, 1881, 1882  
1883, 1884, 1885

1886, 1887, 1888

It is a very common mistake to suppose that the  
history of the world is a mere record of events  
and facts. In fact, it is a record of the  
progress of the human mind. The history of the  
world is the history of the human mind, and  
the human mind is the history of the world.  
The history of the world is the history of the  
human mind, and the human mind is the history  
of the world. The history of the world is the  
history of the human mind, and the human mind  
is the history of the world. The history of the  
world is the history of the human mind, and  
the human mind is the history of the world.

1889, 1890, 1891

1892, 1893, 1894

1895, 1896, 1897



Dale. 2/20/45  
Dr Louis A. Warren

Dear Sir. I am enclosing  
a couple of articles. I had printed for Lincoln's  
birthday for your perusal & criticism

I am here near the Lincoln Park and  
a great many come here to talk Lincoln  
and they seem to represent many opinions  
and ask me many questions. I have your  
Lincoln's Parentage ~~my~~ Childhood, and I  
like your view better than any other and I  
argue that. They won't all agree. Can you  
show me to more proof. There is a  
Book or two on the Hanks Family. do they  
back you up? If they do I want them also  
There is one Lincoln's other mother. I think  
it is by Sandburg - does it back you up?  
I can't hope to have much of a Lincoln  
Library. but would like to have some that  
agree. Do you know of anything concerning  
his Indian life? Could we get you to  
come this way sometime for a talk or two  
One to the School here. many of the scholars  
are descendants of Lincoln's old neighbors  
also one to Elder that night. over.



I know you are very busy. But you can answer this some day. if you have a little leisure, Or better come blower sometime when you can give us a day to show you what we have down here in this County or this Township I think we can interest you and make it worth your time.

I rather think the Memorial will be dedicated this summer. Have you seen it?

Some day when you have time let me hear from you.

Frank Johnson  
Dale Ind -



8

February 21, 1945

Mr. S. G. Johnson  
Dale, Indiana

My dear Mr. Johnson:

Dr. Warren is now on his annual speaking itinerary and will not return until the middle of March, however, I will call your correspondence to his attention. I am sure he can advise you concerning the material you desire.

Very truly yours,

mb

Martha Brown, Sec'y.



March 21, 1945

Mr. S. G. Johnson  
Dale, Indiana

My dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you very much for your kind invitation to come to Dale for a speech on Lincoln some time, but I see no prospects of being in southern Indiana in the very near future.

With respect to Lincoln books that might be acquired to supplement my own work, there are several that are available and I have checked two or three of them off on the attached list. Of course, they are used books but do discuss to some degree the Lincoln story





# KIWANIS CLUB OF DALE

"In the Township Where Abraham Lincoln Lived from 1816 to 1830"

PRESIDENT  
D. R. BROONER  
SECRETARY  
S. G. JOHNSON

DALE, INDIANA Oct. 24-45

Dr Louis A Warren.

Find \$1.00 for which send me. Dear Sir. Enclosed please  
find the little book. Took steps of  
Abraham by J. D. Hobson. I had it but it got away.  
I have the other 2 books you recommended.  
Now I would like to impose on you time a little bit.  
Because to make you understand rightly what I want to  
say. I have to go into detail. Several years ago we organ-  
ized a Lincoln Youth Library assn. Our idea was to collect  
Lincoln Books concerning his Indiana Life. We accumulated  
quite a few Books but had no fire proof building to keep them.  
Then some folks here got the idea of a Public Library. a  
lot more talk and not much done. Then a lot more got  
the idea of a Memorial Bldg. Then we got the idea to  
combine all of them. make a Memorial Bldg. containing  
a Library and a Lincoln Room & Museum. quite a lot more  
talk. Then the Kiwanis Club voted to get behind the move-  
ment. We have one wealthy man here. who made this  
proposition. If we would build a Memorial Bldg here  
that would be an honor to the town. He would pay half  
the cost. He proposed to put \$10000.00 in the Bank with  
these 3 strings attached. 1 That the Building would cost 20000.00  
or more. 2 That the money be in the Bank here by Dec 15. 1945  
3 and that we organize it as a non profit. Charitable. assn.  
Which could receive the money that could be deducted from  
his Income tax. Now there is very little other wealth in  
Dale. and if this money is ever raised quite a little of it must  
come from somewhere outside. Now all this is leading to this  
Do you know of any Lincoln Kranks that will have  
to pay enough Income tax that might be interested enough  
over



That we might be able to secure a donation from them?  
as I understand this money can be deducted and  
go to this kind of a cause instead of to Uncle Sam.  
If you know of any wealthy Lincoln friends  
I would be glad to have their names and addresses.  
The National Memorial Buildings here at the Park  
will be dedicated soon I think. But not soon enough  
for our purposes. I would be glad to hear from  
you on this subject. also would be glad to see  
you anytime you can be in this community

Very truly

Wm. Grant Johnson

Dals

Ind.



October 29, 1945

Mr. S.G. Johnson  
Dale, Indiana

My dear Mr. Johnson:

While I would like very much to see the library and museum at Dale, I certainly do not know of anyone who would be willing to turn loose of \$10,000, especially if they had no definite interest in the community of Dale.

It seems to me if your community could raise enough money to indicate to the generous donor that there was some desire on the part of the citizens to cooperate in the enterprise that he would not be a sticker for the full sum. Neither do I think he would feel like making the contribution if he found the citizens had gone outside of their own community to raise the money.

I happened to go through Dale on a flying trip about two weeks ago but there was no opportunity to stop. It ~~is~~ the first time I had seen the memorial for two or three years and it certainly has been greatly improved.

I am having our Lincolniana Publishers send you the book you ordered under separate cover.

Very truly yours,

LAW:EB

Director







Dale Ind. Aug 24-47  
Mr Louis A. Warren.

Dear Sir. I want to thank you very much for those Lincoln pamphlets. The Poverty myth and The Lincoln marriage. It is exactly what the old timers around here told us 65 to 70 years ago. Nothing so riled them up like that Lazy. Shiftless Poverty tale. I never heard any one around here give any credence to the Marriage tale.

Now I hate to worry you or bother you too much. but you don't seem to have noticed my question. I will go a little more into detail and you can answer when you have time.

I have a firm impression and I don't know just how I got it like this. That Herndon and Mrs Lincoln were more ambitious for Lincoln's Political future than He was. They Publicized everything Smart he did and went to lots of trouble and expense to see that he met the right people, and that they pushed him forward very much, and no doubt did a great deal toward his nomination. and election. When He went to Washington did Herndon go to?



I have the impression that We went to Washington and we were going to be Presidents. That Lincoln knew Herndon's capability and gave him some little job. which very much displeased him. Is that true? Could that have caused Herndon to say what he did about Lincoln or write about him as he did? What caused the falling out between Herndon and Mrs Lincoln. She was a high toned aristocratic Kentucky Blueblood. I think his stories about The Lincoln Poverty Tale, ever to humiliate her. When he was around here he sure hated the ground she walked on. Now I have these impressions am not just sure how I got them. Do you know anything to substantiate them?

When you have time let me hear from you

Very Truly

Grant Johnson



August 27, 1947

Mr. S. Grant Johnson  
Dale, Indiana

My dear Mr. Johnson:

I would say that Herndon had nothing to do with Lincoln's political future. With respect to Mrs. Lincoln, I think she encouraged him in his political ambition but he had served four terms in the Legislature before he ever met her so she could not have been responsible for that.

Herndon was not invited to go to Washington with Lincoln and there is no evidence that Herndon influenced him in any way whatever as President of the United States.

I think Herndon's dislike for Mrs. Lincoln was the fact that she thoroughly disliked him as any highly cultured woman would dislike a man of his type. I think this in a general way answers the questions which you raised in your last letter.

Very truly yours,

Director

LAW:CM  
L.A. Warren



1944-1945

1944-1945

1944-1945

1944-1945

1944-1945

1944-1945

1944-1945

1944-1945

1944-1945



9  
Dale Ind. July. 19- 48  
Dr Lewis. & Warren.

Dear Sir This is a S.O.S.  
Call for help. Mr Charles Stewart of New York.  
3028 - 34<sup>th</sup> St. Astoria L.I. who I think is a very  
prominent man and a Lincoln Frank. was down  
here spending several days in the Lincoln Country.  
He spent a couple of them with me. He had never  
heard anything but The Lazy, Lousy, Shythes Ignor-  
ant Herndon and Beveridge Stories. He was very  
much surprised and interested in my idea The The  
Lincolns were somebody when they lived in Indiana  
and even before. I did my best to impress him  
and I think I did. He went home and <sup>wrote</sup> a story  
to publish in his paper. His Editor was very much  
interested and wanted to print it if documentary  
evidence can be obtained that Lincolns boyhood was  
not spent in the Poverty that historians have  
made so many believe. Now I would love to set  
the record straight But you know its hard to do.

about 30 years ago I copied The Tax argument  
Sheet of Tom Lincoln in 1816. But have put it  
away so good. I cant find it now. over.



Spencer Co. Records were all burned in 1835  
so there is nothing to show. Have you anything?  
that you could furnish or a Photo of it. I know  
you have done a lot of investigating in Indiana  
Can you help me out? or could you write to him  
I wrote him to get your Book. Lincoln Parentage  
also am sending him Mr. Ehmmanus Latet on  
(Lincoln's Neighbors). Have you that?

I was very much taken with this man and  
would like to help him out. and do the  
Lincoln cause a good turn.

Thanks for the bother,

They have a new Church. down there now.

Very truly

Frank Johnson.



July 23, 1948

Mr. S. Grant Johnson  
Dale, Indiana

My dear Mr. Johnson:

I was very happy indeed to hear from you and learn of the interest which Mr. Stewart has in Abraham Lincoln. I will be pleased to write him that you have told me of his interest and will send him some copies of Lincoln Lore which might be helpful in proving that The Lincolns were something more than poor white trash.

I find I will be down in your country again this fall for some speeches at the Lincoln site and hope to see you then.

Very truly yours,

LAW/DPB  
L. A. Warren

Director



Date Sept 27- 49  
Dr Warren

Dear Sir This is to  
remind you to send me some copies  
of Lincoln in 1000 words. I have  
had more men beg me to give them  
the copy I had than anything else  
we discussed that morning. I have you  
and your book and writings and speeches  
I have them to spare I would like  
to have several come to give away. I am  
going to the farm to try to find some Snake Root  
If you will go to your Co agricultural agents  
office I am sure you can find a bulletin  
of White Snake Root that will give you lots  
of information on it. It was good to hear  
from you again. Will be looking for you on the 8<sup>th</sup>  
of Oct.

Very truly E. S. Johnson.



September 29, 1949

Mr. S.G. Johnson  
Dale, Indiana

My dear Mr. Johnson:

You will please find attached to this letter some photostat copies of poison in snake root, which I think will allow you to identify the plant, definitely.

Under separate cover I am also sending quite a little package of booklets, which you might wish to have to distribute, which touch upon Southern Indiana country, to some extent.

I certainly enjoyed my visit to Lincoln City and especially the excellent exhibit which had been set up at Santa Clause, and I think both of you have done a remarkable piece of work in getting together the material. I am not as yet sure whether I will be there again in October but, if I do come, it will be on the 9th instead of the 8th, as I am obliged to be in Springfield, Illinois on the 8th and may come back around by the way of Lincoln City on the way home.

Very truly yours,

LAW:EB  
Encs.

Director



# LINCOLN LORE

Bulletin of the Lincoln National Life Foundation - - - - Dr. Louis A. Warren, Editor  
Published each week by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana

Number 965

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

October 6, 1947

## AN OCTOBER TRAGEDY

A visit to the grave of Abraham Lincoln's mother in October, the month of her untimely death, invites one to visualize the tragic circumstances under which Nancy Hanks Lincoln was taken from her family. The disease from which she died was known as trembles or milk sickness. It was first identified by the patient showing symptoms of dizziness followed by nausea and persistent vomiting with stomach pains and a burning sensation. The tongue became swollen and the breath very offensive. The patient experienced prostration and collapse, then coma developed and continued until death which often occurred within three days from the time of the attack.

Writers who first observed the havoc caused by this disease referred to it as the "terrible malady" and one informant states "its terrible fatality at one period created a perfect panic in the settlers." Nicolay and Hay in their *Abraham Lincoln A History* published in 1890 make this comment, "In the autumn of 1818 the little community of Pigeon Creek was almost exterminated by a frightful pestilence called the milk sickness or in the dialect of the country, "the milk sick." Mrs. Nancy Hanks Lincoln, Mr. and Mrs. Sparrow, Mrs. Bruner and two children, were among the dead who were buried in the same cemetery.

Although the disease was usually fatal and often claimed all the members of a family one wonders whether or not the two Lincoln children, Sarah and Abraham, and their father may not have had light cases of the disease. There is some evidence that the removal of the Lincolns from Indiana to Illinois in 1830 was partly due to the return, during the previous fall, of the dreaded trembles. Ten years later, in 1840, the *Providence (R. I.) Journal* carried a story entitled "The Milk Sickness of the West" which was copied in the *Evansville (Ind.) Journal* for Oct. 14, 1840. Some excerpts from this descriptive article follows:

"There is no announcement which strikes the members of a western community with so much dread as the report of a case of milk sickness. The uncertainty and mystery which envelopes its origin, and its fearful and terrible effects upon the victims, and the ruinous consequences upon the valuable property which follows in its train, make it in the eyes of the inhabitants of a district the worst looking foe which can beset their neighborhood. No emigrant enters a region of Southern Indiana, Illinois, or Western Kentucky to locate himself without first making the inquiry if the milk sickness was ever known there and if he has any suspicions that the causes of the disease exist in the vegetable or mineral productions of the earth he speedily quits it. . . . I have passed many a deserted farm where the labors of the emigrant had prepared for himself and family a comfortable home, surrounded with an ample corn and wheat field, and inquired the reason of its abandonment, and learned that the milk sickness had frightened away its tenants and depopulated the neighborhood. . . . I saw this season a number of farms in Perry County, Indiana, lying uncultivated and the houses tenantless which last autumn were covered with corn fields whose gigantic and thrifty stalks overtopped a man's head on horseback."

Perry was the county in which the Lincolns settled and Mrs. Lincoln died a resident of that portion of Perry that was the very year of her death, to become Spencer county.

Not until recent years has medical science been able to give a positive diagnosis with respect to those afflicted with the trembles or milk sickness as it was called. It was originally believed to be derived from a poisonous dew caused by mineral evaporation at night or by poisonous springs contaminated by minerals. That its origin could be traced to malaria or to some micro-organism was also believed. But from the very earliest appearance of the disease there was a belief that the milk of a cow was the medium through which humans contracted the disease. As late as 1890 Nicolay and Hay referring to the disease stated, "It is a mysterious disease" and even then they considered it might be "a malignant form of fever."

It was about 1840 that Dr. Robert C. Holland of Lexington, Kentucky, in a paper read before Transylvania University eliminated the claim that milk sickness was of malarious origin as was often claimed. His preliminary studies of the cause of the disease warranted this conclusion; "The malady in man must be derived from cattle and that the cow does often feed upon the poison and secrete it in her milk. . . . The herb or mineral imparting the poison has not yet been detected. In man the first attacks are accompanied by violent tremblings, dizziness, excessive vomiting and excruciating pains in the epigastrium, medicine has little power over it; if the constitution of the patient be sufficiently robust to withstand the first assault of the disease or the amount of poison imbibed be not sufficient to destroy him he lingers for years in a state of prolonged misery . . . with a cadaverous countenance, sunken eye and sickly complexion. He looks like a risen tenant from the tomb with digestive powers destroyed he is unable to endure food and retains a loathsome disgust for meat and milk."

James Tilton Couch, a chemist for a long time with the Pathological Division, Bureau of Animal Industry has after several years of research reached this conclusion with respect to the cause of the malady. He states the milk sickness or trembles is due to "a poisonous substance, TREMETOL, present in white snake root (EUPATORIUM URTICAEFOLIUM)." He further comments, "The poison is secreted in the milk of animals that have grazed on these plants and such milk is capable of causing the disease in persons."

The Poison Snake Root still grows in the vicinity of the Spencer County home of the Lincolns. Upon a recent visit there one of the citizens of the community, Mr. S. Grant Johnson, had no difficulty in finding a stalk of it which reached almost to the shoulders of the editor of Lincoln Lore as it was photographed by another resident, Ora Brown. The same obnoxious weed might still take the lives of other mothers were cattle still allowed the freedom of the woods in the fall of the year. It is not likely that livestock would graze on it while there is good forage in the fields but it would be consumed only after the pastures had become dry and the cattle seek shade and vegetation in the woods.



October 17, 1950

Mr. S. Grant Johnson  
Dale, Indiana

My dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you for your kind words about my speeches at Lincoln City just recently but I feel I cannot find the time to write you out the contents of them. I am, however, sending along some little bulletins which will, I believe, carry much of what I had to say.

I want to get down to Southern Indiana sometime when I am not rushed and gather a lot of material which I must of necessity have if I care to make the Southern Indiana story complete. Thank you for your continued helpfulness. I am

Very truly yours,

LAW:JM  
L.A. Warren

Director







Dale Ind. 10-9-60  
Dr Warren.

Dear Sir I think I know something of how busy you are and I hesitate to impose on you. But I feel I would rather have a copy of the talks you made a short time ago than any Lincoln Book. I know of I am the first I ever heard of to object to the accusation of Henry D. Beveridge on the Poverty-stricken Lazy Lincoln. and it seemed I never could get any one to take it seriously.

Have you pretty full notes on the Property ownership of the Lincolns in England. Massachusetts. Maine. Pennsylvania. Virginia. & Kentucky? I know a Lincoln was a Governor of Mass. But I never knew one was also Gov. of Maine nor one in the Cabinet of Who? What President over



Could you take a little of your time  
and fix me up. this data? If you  
can find time, some time to do this  
I will gladly do most any thing for you  
This is what I have wanted all my life.  
I have always thought I could agree  
with every thing I've heard you say  
of the Lincoln except the Road they  
came to Lincoln City I don't think  
and I believe I could convince you  
on that if I had you and the time.  
I surely enjoyed your talks at Lincoln  
City this year more than any others

Thanks a million.

Take your time on those notes if you  
can do it

Very Truly

O Frank Johnson



Waldorf. Nov. 20. - 50

Dr Warren.

Dear Sir. Here

I come again to bother you again

Read this at your leisure sometime if you ever have any and if you can give me the information I ask I will be very thankful

It has been my privilege this fall to spend quite a little time around the Lincoln Memorial & the Lincoln Exhibit at Santa Claus. And it is surprising how many people, even those who think they know some Lincoln. Only know or seem to ever have heard of anything but the Lazy, Loney, Ignorant, Lincolns of Son Indiana & Herndon & Beveridge fame

I drove Herndon. Weeks around this community interviewing Lincolns old neighbors, and I know that they misrepresented what was told them. For 40 or 50 years I have been telling what the old neighbors did say & think. But it seems I have not made much headway

Last Summer in your talk at the Home Site in your talk on Tom Lincoln you took the 7. Generations of Lincolns told who they were. Where they lived their property holdings and some of their history. Really making it appear they were nearly what is who. If you can get me that information I will write up a. Broadsheet and have it printed and pass it out to people who come here and are interested and get this information where it may do some good I will give you credit for it. If you say so.

If you ever want any Southern Indian data I think if it is yet possible you should get in touch with some of

over



State Senator James Brewster family in  
Corydon Indiana! (If you don't have it!)

Along about the time it was suggested  
that we have a Lincoln Memorial Highway  
He spent many months looking up Lincoln data  
among his relatives & friends in Harrison Co  
and all early Highways in Southern Ind.  
He published a report of 3 or 400 pages The  
most complete I ever saw. I had one  
but I gave it to Mr. Wedeking and he  
misplaced it. Mr. Brewster was an old  
Batchelor and died 60 or 8 years ago. but I  
think he has a sister or two yet in Corydon  
They did live in the House that was the  
State Treasury Building. They may have  
some of these reports. I know Mr.  
Brewster very well, worked with him  
quite a lot. I think there is quite a  
lot of old stuff down in Sowden that  
- have never been examined enough.  
If you want this, you better go after it right away  
for they are very old. and it may be too late  
now.

Hoping you may be able to give  
me what I need. I thank you very much

Very truly

Frank Johnson  
Dale Ind.

Thanks for the Lincoln Kinsmans



Dale Ind. 1-8-57

Dr. Warren. Understand

stand that Wm Herndon spent a few days in Southern Indiana in the late 60's, also he came back again in the early 80's hunting some data for a Lincoln Book. That he used what he was supposed to get for a Series of Lectures. Did he ever write a Lincoln Book? or did he just furnish data for some others? or for some one in his name? I have read quite a few of his letters to Jesse W. Co. If he had a Book published what was it? I hate to bother you so much. But you are the Authority - I swear by.

Very Truly

S Grant Johnson



December 13, 1950

Mr. S. Grant Johnson  
Dale, Indiana

My dear Mr. Johnson:

For many years I have been working on a book on Lincoln in Southern Indiana but it does not seem to make much progress because of the many duties I have here in Fort Wayne. I do want to spend a month in Southern Indiana some summer. Work out many theories which I have held, but I know of no one that could be more helpful to me than what you could be .

I am going to send you along a little material on the ancestry of Abraham Lincoln so that you may have the story before you and I cannot promise very early to prepare any lengthy discussion for print as much as I would like to do so.

I think you are making a fine contribution to a better understanding of the Lincolns in Southern Indiana and hope you continue to work on it.

Very truly yours,

Director

LAW:JK



January 15, 1951

Mr. S. Grant Johnson  
Dale, Indiana

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Herdon and Weik published a three volume work in 1879 which has been reprinted in one volume and which can sometimes be acquired. If I can find one for you I will be happy to send it to you.

Very truly yours,

Director

LAW:JK  
L.A. Warren



Dale Sept. 10 - 51

Dr Warren. Dear Sir

I see that the on the Spot School is to be at Lincoln in about a month. I suppose you will be here again. I remember you said that you would like to drive the Real Route that - The Lincoln went over to Vincennes. We may drive over part of that Route just recently took. Colored Pictures of S 10p no 1 - 2 - 3. The Springs are still there but some changes. But if you ever do see this Route it will have to be soon as about 1/2 this Route is overlaid by a Vermilion coal 4 to 10 ft thick which is being striped at about 10 after day. Could you come the day before, go over this Route with us? I think the coloring of leaves will be just about right, and it's a wonderful drive.

Let me hear from you.

E. Grant Johnson

Dale  
Ind



September 14, 1951

Mr. S. G. Johnson  
Dale, Indiana

My dear Mr. Johnson:

As much as I would like to make the suggested trip with you, I fear it will be impossible because I am not planning to attend the recital this year. It takes too much of my time and energy and I advised the committee last year that it would be last appearance on the program. Thanks, nevertheless, for thinking of me.

Very truly yours,

LAW:BB

Director



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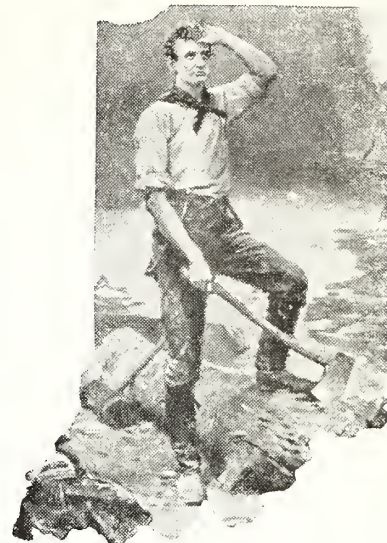
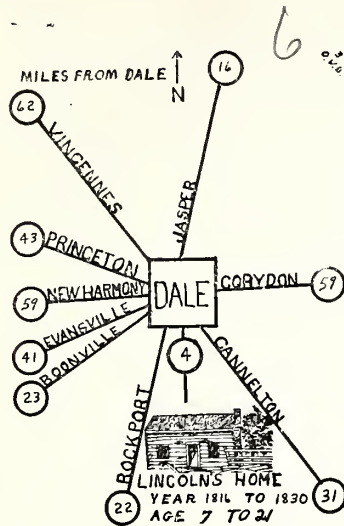
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THE INDIANA RAIL-SPLITTER

S. G. Johnson.  
O. V. BROWN

Mr Louis. A. Warren,

Dale, Indiana

Nov 7<sup>th</sup> 51

The House today on acct of the storm; and I thought I would write you. I have been thinking of you most ever since the Historical Tour. This was nothing to it, without you, about 1. P.M. a dozen or so cars drove up to the Memorial Building. Mr Englebrecht, our County School Supt met them, told them who he was. He stood in the front of the Hawkey Hanks Hall and said This is the Hawkey Hanks Memorial Chapel. It is built of Indiana Limestone. Spencer Co. Sand Stone. The timbers used were grown in this and adjoining counties any Religious organization is welcome to use it at any time it is not engaged. He walked around the circle to the Abe Lincoln Hall, said you can register here and we will go up on the Hill to where Mrs Lincoln's Tomb is. There he said Mrs Lincoln only lived here in Indiana about a couple of years. Dies & was buried here. This tomb was erected here by one of the Stuebaker Bros. of South Bend. Now we will go about 1/4 mile North to where the Cabin stood. There he said this is the Cabin stood where Abe spent 14 years or so. He says where he grew up. Now we will go around a Trail marked by rocks, from each of the Buildings made over



Historical by Abe's connections with them. I did not follow them but afterwards I heard him say that was his first trip around them. They then drove down to the Church to Sarah's Grave and went on to Rockport I did not follow. But I understood that some woman reviewed Abe Lincoln of Pigeon Creek. I never gave her a peep of what she said. all the truth there is in it could have been reviewed in 5 min I did not go to Rockport. So I know nothing of what was done there. (But later I heard several complaining about having to pay 50cts to see 15 cents worth in the museum.)

Ora & I and 2 others went to Santa Claus Land. to meet them. Any one nearly should have known better than to send them to Santa Claus on Sunday this time of the year. There were 20000 others there that Sunday and if they got any dinner. Lot of them had to stand in line <sup>3/4</sup> of an hour. With the crowd that was there we could not tell any of that bunch from any one else, We... 4. Scattered along those cases and tried to explain the exhibit But some seemed interested while others hardly looked at anything. If they had met there Saturday there was not very many there and it would have been much better. Don't ever advise any one wanting to see anything to go to Santa Claus Land. on Sunday. I could never tell when this crowd left for St Meinrad. as the crowd got bigger all the time I know we interested some of them. They asked questions and took our addresses and said they would come some time when things were not so crowded and they had more time. But I think it was a disappointment to most of them. So next time you will have to come. I begin to believe there is very few people that do know much about Lincoln



3  
Now I want to make you laugh.

The other day I was down at Lincoln some old Blatherkite from Springfield he was entertaining quite a crowd with his Tale of Abe Lincoln. He was making him out worse than Herndon ever did and getting quite a laugh out of it.

I Blowed up. I said will you let me talk a minute or two.

I think the name Lincoln should lead the Who is Who. in the U.S. or Indiana. I dont know much about him in Ills. But I do think I know something about him in Indiana.

I am not old enough to remember him myself. But my Father & Mother my Grand Mother and Great Grand Father were his nearest neighbors and I know what they told me. First I suppose you know the Lincolns came to the U.S. from Hingham England where they were a very prominent people. That in Church of St Andrew. a few years ago there was moved a plank which reads in this Parish for many generations lived the Lincolns. ancestors of Abraham Lincoln. Greatest of all the Lincolns.



The People of the U.S. have erected a monument  
in honor of one of the Greatest men that ever  
Lived. From Hingham England to Hingham  
Mass. came Samuel Lincoln. He became  
a very prominent Manufacturer and  
raised a very prominent Family and  
2 of his Sons became Governors of Mass.  
another became Governor of Maine  
another Lincoln was in the Presidents  
Cabinet, another Genl Benjamin received  
the Sword of Cornwallis. Mordecai a moved  
to Penn. became one of The Pioneers of the  
Iron Industry. His Son John moved to Virginia  
had a 600 farm where the Lincoln Cemetery now is  
His Son Abraham. Grand Father of the Pres.  
moved to Ky owned 5000 acres of Land. I  
do not know whether His Son Tom. Father  
of Abe got any of it or not. But I do know  
that in 1797. Tom Bought for Cash. 388 acres  
in Cumberland Co Ky. Then in 1803 He bought  
230. acres for Cash. then in 1805. He bought  
a house & 2 Lots in Elizabethton to which He  
brought His Bride, in 1808. He bought  
the 380 acre farm where Abe was born.  
So He had or had owned about 1000 acres of Land  
when Abe was born. In 1811 He bought  
the farm from which he moved to Indiana  
(I happened to have this data with me)



5  
Now to have him broke when he gets to Ind  
you have him trade all this for a few  
Barrel of Whisky and dump it in the Whis  
Now. I don't know anything about  
Toms Bank acct when he came to Ind  
all most all our Court Records burned in  
1838. But I do know he entered some  
Land. and lived on it. He had several  
trades that he worked at. for Cash.  
and no one ever said he owed any  
one. I have a letter where Grand  
Father David Turnham says he bought  
100 Hogs. and 400 Bu Corn from him when  
he left here. So he did not leave broke.  
When Abe left here he bought some  
merchandise to sell on the road. as to  
Abe's Education. My Grand Mother said He  
was the best educated young man around  
very few were much surprised when he was  
elected President. He spent the 10 year in  
Ill. working for his Father the next year  
he went to New Orleans again. I built a flat Boat  
The next year won the Black Hawk War  
then stayed awhile in a store that went out  
Went to the legislature where from the first he was  
the leading man. and was counted one of the  
three leading Lawyers in Ill.



He had no chance to learn any thing  
after he left here. He took all he ever  
had with him from here. I had the  
crowd with me and he shut up.  
I had a lot of fun out of him. He  
did not know much Lincoln.

Now you tell me. Was I right about  
The three Governors. and what was  
their names. also the name of the one  
that was in. (Who) Cabinet and was  
also another Son. Who was Genl Ben. R.

I maybe fool enough to get into another  
argument. I think got most of this  
from your talks and I would like to  
be more sure next time. I got by with it  
all. O.K. as no one seemed to know better.

When you get time some day will  
you please set me right on this

Very truly

Frank Johnson



November 26, 1951

Mr. S. G. Johnson  
Dale, Indiana

My dear Mr. Johnson:

I was pleased to have your interesting letter in respect to the pilgrimage, but regret exceedingly that it did not prove to be more successful.

I am having a photostat of a very early copy of Lincoln Lore made which tells about the Lincoln Governors which I think will give you the history of them, although Benjamin Lincoln was a decendent of one of Abraham Lincoln's forebearers, they were not closely related. Levy Lincoln, Sr., was Attorney General in Thomas Jefferson's cabinet.

I am very much interested in the letter which you say your father wrote respecting the Lincolns, and I wonder if I could have a copy of that letter, or has it been printed? Specially that place where he talks about purchasing the hogs and corn from the Lincolns.

I have not given up hope of getting down there some day for a visit with you, but it cannot be before Spring now.

Very truly yours,

LAW:BB

Director



March 12, 1952

Mr. S.G. Johnson  
Dale, Indiana

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I have read with very much interest your very interesting article on the Lincolns and I am sure that except for just one or two minor details I could subscribe to all of it. I doubt whether Samuel Lincoln followed the profession of weaving after he reached America although he was an apprentice to a weaver in England. The Attorney General in Thomas Jefferson's cabinet was Levi Lincoln, Sr., brother of Dr. Abraham Lincoln of Worcester where both of them lived.

What is the reaction of your people toward the book "Abe Lincoln at Loafer Station" by Anet Garrison. I will be interested indeed to learn what the people of Spenci and Warrick County think of it. Is that a true picture of their own ancestors.

Very truly yours,

LAW:PE

Director



9 - -  
January 19, 1955

Mrs. S. Grant Johnson  
Dale, Indiana

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

Your letter arrived here following Dr. Warren's departure from Ft. Wayne on his annual speaking itinerary, which will keep him away from the office for eight weeks.

I know he will be pleased to receive your letter, but will be grieved to learn of the recent passing away of your husband and his old friend, Mr. S. Grant Johnson. Please accept my own sincere expression of sympathy.

I note your request regarding Lincoln Lore and will act accordingly.

I will bring your letter to Dr. Warren's attention upon his return and you will hear from him personally at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Moellering  
Secretary to Dr. Warren

m/m







Dale Indiana Jan 5<sup>th</sup> 1955

Dr. Louis A. Warren Fort Wayne Indiana

Dear Sir.

I feel that I must write you in regard to your publications of Lincoln Love. My husband, S. Grant Johnson, has been a great admirer of you ever since he had a chance to know you and to make your acquaintance, and he always cherished your articles in Lincoln Love. I guess we have each copy, that he ever received, but I must tell you he has been called away, although he was 85 years of age he was always so energetic, and thought he could go ahead and do work as he had always done, and the last few days of his life he did do more work, helping to clear sprouts etc out of ditches down on the farm, than he should have done, he retired at night seemingly in his usual health, our two daughters were here for the evening when we separated and I went to retire. I was careful to not disturb him, for I knew he needed his rest, but when I awoke in the morning, I saw he was gone, there was no evidence that he had made the slightest move during the night, it seemed that he had just, as the writer of his obituary expressed it, "he just wrapped the mantle of his couch about him, and lay down to pleasant dreams."

That was a wonderful way for him to go, but you can imagine the shock it was to me, who were left, perhaps, I should apologize for writing all this, but altho I never knew you personally, he always spoke of



of you as a close friend and one he was always  
glad to see, when you had occasion to come down  
this way. So please, just cancel his name from the  
list to whom you mail your articles, for I too, cannot  
read them, my eyes are failing so fast, I have  
felt for some time I should write you but just  
neglected doing so. I have a lot of newspaper clippings  
magazines etc telling of incidents in the life of Lincoln. I  
shall keep them with this bunch of Lincoln lore, perhaps  
some one will want them sometime.

Yours respectfully  
Mrs. S Grant Johnson.



March 23, 1955

Mrs. S. Grant Johnson  
Dale, Indiana

My dear Mrs. Johnson:

Having been away nearly three months I find your letter of January 5 on my desk. I am very happy that my secretary did acknowledge it otherwise you might feel that I was not deeply moved by hearing of the death of Mr. Johnson.

It was a pleasure to have known him through the years and many happy experiences are recalled in associating with him. I am sure that you miss him greatly and wish to extend to you my very deepest sympathy.

Very truly yours,

LAW:WMC

Director



1874-1875

1874-1875

1874-1875

1874-1875

1874-1875

1874-1875

1874-1875

1874-1875



**Publications**  
of the  
**Indiana Historical Bureau**  
and of the  
**Indiana Historical Society**

REVISED FROM  
INDIANA HISTORY BULLETIN  
VOLUME 21, NUMBER 3, MARCH, 1944







## PUBLICATIONS OF THE INDIANA HISTORICAL BUREAU

State Library and Historical Building, Indianapolis  
(Successor of the Indiana Historical Commission since May, 1925)

The regular publications of the Bureau are the bound volumes of *Indiana Historical Collections*, one of which is usually published each year, and the monthly *Indiana History Bulletin*, some numbers of which are devoted to special subjects. A complete list of the former is given below. Reprints, archaeological reports, proceedings of Indiana history conferences and certain other *Bulletins* are also listed, as well as miscellaneous and incidental publications of the Bureau.

### INDIANA HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

I-II.	<i>Constitution Making in Indiana</i> (Volumes I and II), by Charles Kettleborough (1916).....per volume	\$1.50	I-120 II-114
III.	<i>Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers</i> , by Harlow Lindley (1916) .....	1.50	-150
IV.	<i>The Play Party in Indiana</i> , by Leah Jackson Wol- ford (1916) .....	1.00	-67 -316 reprinted
V.	<i>The Indiana Centennial—1916</i> (1916).....	1.00	-92
VI.	<i>Gold Star Honor Roll</i> (1921).....	5.00	-163
VII.	<i>Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison</i> (Volume I, <i>Governors' Messages and Letters</i> ), edited by Logan Esarey (1922).....	1.50	-319
VIII.	<i>War Purse of Indiana</i> , by Walter Greenough (1922)	1.50	-197
IX.	<i>Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison</i> (Volume II, <i>Governors' Messages and Letters</i> ), edited by Logan Esarey (1922).....	1.50	-100?
X.	<i>A Sergeant's Diary</i> , by Elmer F. Straub (1923). Reprint (1940) .....	1.50	-327



XI.	<i>George W. Julian</i> , by Grace Julian Clarke (1923). Reprint (1940) .....	1.50—	418
XII.	<i>Messages and Letters by Jennings, Boon and Hendricks</i> (Volume III, <i>Governors' Messages and Letters</i> ), edited by Logan Esarey (1924) .....	1.50—	67
XIII.	<i>Swiss Settlement of Switzerland County, Indiana</i> , by Perret Dufour (1925) .....	1.50—	70
XIV.	<i>William Henry Harrison</i> , by Dorothy Burne Goebel (1926) .....	1.50—	350
XV.	<i>Fort Wayne, Gateway of the West, 1802-1813</i> , edited by Bert J. Griswold (1927) .....	2.50—	358
XVI.	<i>A Bibliography of the Laws of Indiana, 1788-1927</i> , by John G. Rauch and Nellie C. Armstrong (1923) .....	1.00—	195
XVII.	<i>Constitution Making in Indiana</i> (Volume III), by Charles Kettleborough (1930) .....	1.50—	352
XVIII.	<i>Indiana Book of Merit</i> , compiled by Harry A. Rider (1932) .....	5.00—	505
XIX.	<i>Indiana Boundaries, Territory, State and County</i> , by George Pence and Nellie C. Armstrong (1933) .....	5.00—	576
XX.	<i>The Laws of Indiana Territory, 1809-1816</i> , edited by Louis B. Ewbank and Dorothy L. Riker, with a foreword by Governor Paul V. McNutt (1934) .....	3.00—	975
	Rag paper edition .....	4.50—	83
XXI.	<i>Solon Robinson, Pioneer and Agriculturist</i> , Selected Writings, Volume I, 1825-1845, edited by Herbert Anthony Kellar (1936) .....	2.00—	280
	Rag paper edition .....	3.00—	110
XXII.	<i>Solon Robinson, Pioneer and Agriculturist</i> , Selected Writings, Volume II, 1846-1851, edited by Herbert Anthony Kellar (1937) .....	2.00—	230
	Rag paper edition .....	3.00—	110
XXIII.	<i>Moravian Indian Mission on White River—Diaries and Correspondence, May 5, 1799, to October 26, 1806</i> , edited by Lawrence Henry Gipson (1938) ..	2.00—	490
XXIV-XXVI.	<i>The John Tipton Papers</i> , with an Introduction by Paul W. Gates; Volume I, 1809-1827, compiled by Glen A. Blackburn; Volume II, 1828-1833, compiled by Nellie A. Robertson and Dorothy Riker; Volume III, 1834-1839, compiled by Nellie A. Robertson and Dorothy Riker (1943) ... 3 vols.	11.00	24-494 25-514 26-571
XXVII.	<i>David Dale Owen, Pioneer Geologist of the Middle West</i> , by Walter Brookfield Hendrickson (1943) ..	2.00—	480



## INDIANA HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS REPRINTS

- The Laws of Indiana Territory, 1801-1809*, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Volume XXI, Law Series, edited by Francis S. Philbrick. Reprinted with Supplementary Indiana Material by the Historical Bureau (1931)..... \$3.00- 611  
 Rag paper edition ..... 4.50- 77
- Report of the Debates and Proceedings of the Convention for the Revision of the Constitution of the State of Indiana, 1850* (Volumes I and II). Reprinted by offset process (1935).....  
 ..... per volume, \$2.75; per set 5.25- 570
- Journal of the Convention of the People of the State of Indiana to Amend the Constitution*. Reprinted by offset process (1936). 2.75- 595
- Index to the Journal and Debates of the Indiana Constitutional Convention, 1850-1851*, compiled by Jessie P. Boswell. A new index, not a reprint (1938)..... 1.00- 432
- A History of Education in Indiana*, by Richard G. Boone (D. Appleton Company, 1892). Reprinted with permission by offset process by the Historical Bureau (1941)..... 1.50- 793

## INDIANA HISTORY BULLETIN

The *Indiana History Bulletin* is issued monthly by the Historical Bureau. The volumes now run with the calendar year. It is distributed without charge to members of the Indiana Historical Society, to libraries, and historical agencies in the state. The subscription price is twenty-five cents per year.

Since 1923 occasional issues of the *Indiana History Bulletin*, as listed below, consist of extended reports, proceedings, and articles; for most of these a small charge is made to those not on the mailing list. Other numbers are sent without charge upon individual request.

## PROCEEDINGS OF ANNUAL INDIANA HISTORY CONFERENCES

- Proceedings of State History Conference, 1919*, Bulletin No. 11, May 1920 [Out of print]
- Proceedings of Second Annual State History Conference, 1920*, Bulletin No. 13, May 1921 [Out of print]
- Proceedings of Third Annual Conference on Indiana History, 1921*, Bulletin No. 15, February 1922 [Out of print]
- Proceedings of Fourth Annual Conference on Indiana History, 1922*, Bulletin No. 17, February 1923
- Proceedings of Fifth Annual Indiana History Conference, 1923*, *Indiana History Bulletin*, Extra Number, February 1924



- Proceedings of Sixth Annual Indiana History Conference, 1924, Indiana History Bulletin, Extra Number, February 1925*
- Proceedings of Seventh Annual Indiana History Conference, 1925, Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. III, Extra No. 2, March 1926 [Out of print]*
- Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Indiana History Conference, 1926, Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. IV, Extra No. 2, April 1927*
- Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Indiana History Conference, 1927, Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. V, Extra No. 2, April 1928*
- Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Indiana History Conference, 1928, Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. VI, Extra No. 2, May 1929 [Out of print]*
- Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Indiana History Conference, 1929, Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. VII, No. 7, April 1930*
- Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Indiana History Conference, 1930, Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. VIII, No. 7, April 1931*
- Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Indiana History Conference, 1931, Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. IX, No. 5, February 1932*
- Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Indiana History Conference, 1932, Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. X, No. 6, March 1933*
- Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Indiana History Conference, 1933, Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. XI, No. 5, February 1934*
- Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Indiana History Conference, 1934, Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. XII, No. 5, February 1935*
- Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Indiana History Conference, 1935, Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. 13, No. 2, February 1936*
- Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Indiana History Conference, 1936, Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. 14, No. 2, February 1937 . . .10*
- Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Indiana History Conference, 1937, Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. 15, No. 2, February 1938 . . .10*
- Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Indiana History Conference, 1938, Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. 16, No. 2, February 1939 . . .10*
- Proceedings of the Twenty-first Annual Indiana History Conference, 1939, Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. 17, No. 2, February 1940 . . .10*
- Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Indiana History Conference, 1940, Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. 18, No. 2, February 1941 . . .10*
- Proceedings of the Twenty-third Annual Indiana History Conference, 1941, Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. 19, No. 3, March 1942 .10*



- Proceedings of the Twenty-fourth Annual Indiana History Conference, 1942, Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. 20, No. 3, March 1943* .10
- Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Annual Indiana History Conference, 1943, Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. 21, No. 1, January 1944* .10

SOUTHWESTERN INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

- Proceedings of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society, Evansville, Jan. 31, 1922, Bulletin No. 16, October 1922. Reprint (1941)*
- Proceedings of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society, Evansville, Feb. 28, 1923, Bulletin No. 18, October 1923 [Out of print]*
- Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society, Evansville, Feb. 12, 1924, Indiana History Bulletin, Extra Number, June 1924*
- Proceedings of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society. Papers read before Society, 1920 to 1925, Indiana History Bulletin, Extra Number, December 1925 [Out of print]*
- Proceedings of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society. Papers on Senator Benjamin Rose Edmonston, The Lincoln Route, General Joseph E. Lane, Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. IV, Extra No. 1, December 1926 [Out of print]*
- Proceedings of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society. Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. V, Extra No. 1, March 1928 [Out of print]*
- Proceedings of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society. Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. VI, Extra No. 3, August 1929 [Out of print]*
- Proceedings of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society, 1929-1933, Standards and Subjects of Historical Society Work, by John E. Iglehart, Indiana History Bulletin, Vol. XI, No. 8, May 1934*

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORTS

Published as numbers of the monthly *Indiana History Bulletin*

- Extra Number, July 1924, *Archaeological Survey of Lawrence County*, by E. Y. Guernsey [Out of print]
- Extra Number, August 1924, *Archaeological and Historical Survey of Washington County* [Out of print]
- Volume IV, Extra Number 3, May 1927, *Excavation of Albee Mound in 1926*, by J. Arthur MacLean [Out of print]
- Volume IV, Extra Number 4, August 1927, *Archaeological and Historical Survey of Parke County*, by George Branson



Volume VII, Number 12, September 1930, *The Archaeology of the White-water Valley*, by Frank M. Setzler. Reprint (1941)

Volume VIII, Number 4, January 1931, *Excavation of Albee Mound, 1926-1927*, by J. Arthur MacLean [Out of print]

Volume IX, Number 1, October 1931, *The Archaeology of Randolph County and the Fudge Mound*, by Frank M. Setzler [Out of print]

Volume IX, Number 8, May 1932, *Bibliography on Indiana Archaeology*, compiled by Eli Lilly [Out of print]

Volume X, Number 1, October 1932, *The Archaeology of Porter County*, by J. Gilbert McAllister [Out of print]

Volume X, Number 5, February 1933, *The Archaeology of Greene County*, by Glenn A. Black [Out of print]

Volume XI, Number 7, *Archaeological Survey of Dearborn and Ohio Counties*, by Glenn A. Black

Volume XIII, Number 7, *Excavation of the Nowlin Mound, Dearborn County Site 7, 1934-1935*, by Glenn A. Black, with Notes on the Pottery by James B. Griffin and Frederick R. Matson, Jr. (Price 25 cents)

Subsequent archaeological reports are published in the *Prehistory Research Series* issued by the Indiana Historical Society.

#### OCCASIONAL AND INCIDENTAL PUBLICATIONS

Prior to the first issue of the monthly *Indiana History Bulletin*, November 1923, the Indiana Historical Commission published seventeen numbered Bulletins on miscellaneous subjects. Those not listed above under history conferences are given in the following list of occasional and incidental publications of the Historical Bureau.

*Bulletin* No. 1, Indiana Historical Commission and Centennial Celebration (1915) [Out of print]

*Bulletin* No. 2, To the County Superintendents (1915)

*Bulletin* No. 3, Why Should We Observe the Indiana Centennial? (1915)

*Bulletin* No. 4, *Pageant Suggestions for The Indiana Statehood Centennial Celebration*, by Charity Dye (1915) [Out of print]

*Bulletin* No. 5, *Outline of Church History of Indiana* (1916)

*Bulletin* No. 6, November 1916, *Organization of County and Local Historical Societies*, by Harlow Lindley

*Bulletin* No. 7, December 1916, *Report of the Indiana Historical Commission from Its Organization, April 24, 1915, to December 1, 1916*



- Bulletin* No. 8, December 1916, *Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of Indiana's Admission Into the Union, December 11, 1916* [Out of print]
- Bulletin* No. 9, January 1919 (War History Bulletin No. 1), *Suggestions for Collecting and Preserving Material for Indiana's War History* [Out of print]
- Bulletin* No. 10, March 1919 (War History Bulletin No. 2), *Indiana War Records, County War History Prospectus* [Out of print]
- Bulletin* No. 12, April 1921, *State and County Cooperation in Indiana History* [Out of print]
- Bulletin* No. 14, December 1921, *Historical Markers in Indiana* [Out of print]
- Bulletin* No. 14, Revised Edition, April 1924, *Historical Markers in Indiana* [Out of print]
- The Centennial Book (1916)* ..... \$5.00
- Constitution Making in Indiana*, by Charles Kettleborough  
Introduction to Volumes I and II of *Indiana Historical Collections*, covering the period from 1816 to 1916 (1916) ..... .50
- Marshal Foch Day in Indianapolis (1922)* ..... .50
- Indiana, 1926*. Illustrated booklet on Indiana institutions and resources (1926) [Out of print]
- Indiana 1779-1929, George Rogers Clark One Hundred Fiftieth Anniversary (1928)* [Out of print]
- Indiana History Bulletin*, Volume V, Extra Number 3, July 1928, *Recollections of the Civil War*, by Oran Perry [Out of print]
- Indiana History Bulletin*, Volume VI, Extra Number 1, January 1929, *Historical Markers and Public Memorials in Indiana*, Third Edition, compiled by Jessie P. Boswell [Out of print]
- Indiana Day*, historical, literary and musical selections appropriate to the observance of December 11, the day Indiana was admitted into the Union (1929) ..... .10
- Indiana History Bulletin*, Volume IX, Number 6, March 1932, *Indiana County Government*, by Harold C. Feightner [Out of print]
- Captain Leonard Helm*, by Bessie Taul Conkwright, a reprint from *Indiana History Bulletin*, Volume 10, Number 6, March 1933
- The Indiana Capitol, Its Predecessors and Related Buildings*, an eight-page pamphlet
- Emblems of the State of Indiana*, a four-page pamphlet and two leaflets



- The Fall of Fort Sackville*, by Frederick C. Yohn, a leaflet in color  
*Indiana History Bulletin*, Volume 14, Number 10, October 1937,  
*Early Financial History of Indiana 1816-1872*, by James Ed-  
 ward Hagerty ..... .25
- Outline Maps of Indiana Boundaries*, a reprint from *Indiana Bound-  
 aries*, by George Pence and Nellie C. Armstrong (*Indiana His-  
 torical Collections*, Volume XIX) ..... .10
- Covered Bridges in Indiana*, compiled by Robert B. Yule and Richard  
 C. Smith, a reprint from *Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual  
 Indiana History Conference* (*Indiana History Bulletin*, Volume  
 15, Number 2, February 1938) [Out of print]. Revised to  
 December 1, 1940, *Directory of Covered Bridges in Indiana*,  
 reprinted from *Indiana History Bulletin*, Volume 18, Number 2,  
 February 1941
- The Historian as Revisionist*, by James G. Randall, a reprint from  
*Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Indiana History Confer-  
 ence* (*Indiana History Bulletin*, Volume 15, Number 2, February  
 1938)
- Dendrochronology: Can We Fix Prehistoric Dates in the Middle  
 West by Tree Rings?*, by Florence Hawley Senter, a reprint  
 from *Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Indiana History  
 Conference* (*Indiana History Bulletin*, Volume 15, Number 2,  
 February 1938)
- George Rogers Clark National Memorial Leaflets—*
- No. 1 *Vincennes and the Old Northwest*, by Governor Paul V.  
 McNutt (1933) [Out of print]
- No. 2 *Dedication of Wabash River Bridge; Scaling of Memorial  
 Corner Stone . . . Address of Governor Henry Horner,  
 Governor Paul V. McNutt, and Senator Simeon D. Fess  
 (1932)* [Out of print]
- No. 3 *The Old Vincennes Cathedral*, by Monsignor Francis H.  
 Gavisk (1934) [Out of print]
- No. 4 *Father Pierre Gibault*, by Governor Paul V. McNutt (1934)  
 [Out of print]

#### INVENTORIES OF COUNTY ARCHIVES

Inventories of county archives of Indiana were compiled by the  
 Indiana Historical Records Survey of the Works Progress Administra-  
 tion (continued 1939-42 as the Work Projects Administration). Four  
 volumes, including the first completed, were published by the Indiana  
 Historical Bureau in clothbound volumes:



*Inventory of the County Archives of Indiana*

No. 6 Boone County (Lebanon) 1937.....	\$ .25
No. 49 Marion County (Indianapolis) 1938.....	.25
No. 46 LaPorte County (LaPorte) 1939.....	.25
No. 71 St. Joseph County (South Bend) 1939 [Out of print]	

Note: The *Inventory of Howard County Archives* (Kokomo) was published in a clothbound volume by the county and distributed by the Howard County auditor, Kokomo. The compilation of the inventories of sixteen other counties by the Indiana Historical Records Survey was completed and a small number of multigraphed paper-covered copies was distributed to the county authorities and cooperating agencies. The supply of these was exhausted when the project was terminated.



## PUBLICATIONS OF THE INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Indiana Historical Society issues a variety of historical literature. Its *Publications* are a series of paper-covered pamphlets or books available to members of the Society without charge as issued; volumes, containing from one to twelve numbers, are bound in cloth as completed, and sold at five dollars per volume; except Volumes 9 and 12, consisting of single numbers, which are two dollars clothbound. All of the bound volumes are available even though there are no copies available of numbers they contain. Prices are subject to change without notice. Separate numbers, so far as possible, and bound volumes are for sale by the Bobbs-Merrill Company, of Indianapolis; current numbers are also for sale at the office of the Secretary of the Indiana Historical Society, Room 408, 140 North Senate Avenue (State Library and Historical Building), Indianapolis 4.

*Prehistoric Antiquities of Indiana* is a special volume, unnumbered and not in a series, for sale at ten dollars at the office of the Secretary. Numbers of the *Prehistory Research Series* are issued from time to time in paper-covered numbers. The Series deals with Indiana archaeology and with linguistic and anthropological studies of the Indians. Upon request numbers are mailed from the office of the Secretary without charge to members of the Society and to other persons so long as the supply lasts.

VOLUME 1.....	\$5.00
No. 1 <i>Proceedings of the Indiana Historical Society, 1830-1886</i> (1897) .....	[No separates]
No. 2 <i>Northwest Territory: Letter of Nathan Dane Concerning the Ordinance of 1787 and Patrick Henry's Secret Letter of Instruction to George Rogers Clark</i> (1897) .....	[No separates]
No. 3 <i>The Uses of History</i> , by Andrew Wylie, 1831 (1897) .....	[No separates]
No. 4 <i>The National Decline of the Miami Indians</i> , by John B. Dillon (1897) .....	[No separates]
No. 5 <i>Early History of Indianapolis and Central Indiana</i> , by Nathaniel Bolton, 1853 (1897) .....	[No separates]
No. 6 <i>Joseph G. Marshall</i> , by John L. Campbell (1897) .....	[No separates]
No. 7 <i>Judge John Law</i> , by Charles Denby (1897) ..	[No separates]



- No. 8 *Archaeology*, by E. T. Cox (1897)..... [No separates]  
 No. 9 *The Early Settlement of the Miami Country*, by Ezra  
 Ferris (1897) ..... [No separates]

## VOLUME 2.....\$5.00

- No. 1 *The Laws and Courts of Northwest and Indiana Territories*, by Daniel Wait Howe (1886)..... .75  
 No. 2 *Life and Services of John B. Dillon*, by John Coburn,  
 with a sketch by Judge Horace P. Biddle (1886)... .75  
 No. 3 *The Acquisition of Louisiana*, by Thomas M. Cooley  
 (1887) ..... [No separates]  
 No. 4 *Loughery's Defeat and Pigeon Roost Massacre*, by  
 Charles Martindale (1888)..... [No separates]  
 No. 5 *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Official Publications of  
 the Territory and State of Indiana from 1800 to  
 1890*, by Daniel Wait Howe (1890)..... .75  
 No. 6 *The Rank of Charles Osborn as an Anti-Slavery  
 Pioneer*, by George W. Julian (1891)..... .75  
 No. 7 *The Man in History, an Oration for the Columbian  
 Year*, by John Clark Ridpath (1893)..... .75  
 No. 8 *Ouïatanon, a Study in Indiana History*, by Oscar J.  
 Craig (1893) ..... [No separates]  
 No. 9 *Reminiscences of a Journey to Indianapolis in the Year  
 1836*, by C. P. Ferguson  
*Life of Ziba Foote*, by Samuel Morrison (1893).....  
 ..... [No separates]  
 No. 10 "Old Settlers," by Robert B. Duncan (1894) [No separates]  
 No. 11 *Documents Relating to the French Settlements on the  
 Wabash*, by Jacob Piatt Dunn (1894)..... [No separates]  
 No. 12 *Slavery Petitions and Papers*, by Jacob Piatt Dunn  
 (1894) ..... [No separates]

## VOLUME 3.....\$5.00

- No. 1 *A History of Early Indianapolis Masonry and of Center  
 Lodge*, by Will E. English (1895)..... .75  
 No. 2 *Sieur de Vincennes, the Founder of Indiana's Oldest  
 Town*, by Edmond Mallet (1897)..... .75  
 No. 3 *Executive Journal of Indiana Territory, 1800-1816*,  
 edited and annotated by William Wesley Woollen,  
 Daniel Wait Howe, and Jacob Piatt Dunn (1900)... .75  
 No. 4 *The Mission to the Ouabache*, by Jacob Piatt Dunn  
 (1902) ..... .75  
 No. 5 *Fifty Years in Pharmacy*, by George W. Sloan (1903) . .75



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*A Brief History  
of Indiana*

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# A BRIEF HISTORY *of* INDIANA

By  
DONALD F. CARMONY AND  
HOWARD H. PECKHAM

Indianapolis  
INDIANA HISTORICAL BUREAU  
1946



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# A BRIEF HISTORY OF INDIANA

## I. EUROPEAN COLONY, 1679-1783

### **First Inhabitants**

Here and there along Indiana watercourses are found objects of Indian fabrication which reveal that the first inhabitants of the state were dwelling here centuries before the first white man appeared. The earliest Indians lived mainly on shellfish as shown by the shell mounds they left. They used spears for hunting, made beads but not pottery; and lived in flimsy shelters for short periods before moving on in search of more food. Other and later mounds reveal that a more settled people inhabited Indiana over a thousand years ago. They raised much of their food, made cloth, nets, sandals, and ornaments, and buried their dead with care. In southwestern Indiana about four hundred years ago dwelt some agricultural Indians who lived in houses formed of upright posts, cane lath covered with straw and mud, and grass roofs, and who even fortified their village. They made pottery utensils, flint knives, stone hammers, copper ornaments, and bows and arrows.

In the early seventeenth century the northern part of the state was invaded by a new group of warlike, hunting Indians. They caused the farming Indians on the Ohio River to go back to their homeland in the Southeast. The newcomers, with an inferior culture, found that the streams, lakes, and swamps of northern Indiana supplied game and fish in abundance, the river systems provided highways for their canoes, and the patches of prairie could be gardened by the squaws. These were the red men found by the first white explorers in the late seventeenth century. They belonged to the Algonquian language family.

### **The French Arrive**

The Spanish were the pioneers in the exploration and colonization of the New World, but shortly after its discovery by Columbus in 1492 came the first meager efforts of the English and French. John



Cabot, sailing for England, discovered the Labrador region in 1497 and established England's claim to North America. An early French expedition, under Verrazano, sailed along the Atlantic coast in 1524 searching for a passage to the Orient. A decade later Cartier made the first of three voyages up the St. Lawrence River and attempted a colony, but without success.

The fur trade with the Indians lured the French into the interior and became the economic foundation of New France. Champlain founded Quebec in 1608 and explored westward to Lake Huron. Trader Jolliet and Father Marquette reached the Mississippi and descended it part way in 1673. Fur traders and missionaries fanned out through the country surrounding the Great Lakes. The Jesuit missionaries in particular labored amid sacrifice and martyrdom to convert the Indians to Christianity, while traders exchanged the white man's goods with the Indians for fur pelts. By 1720 the French had control of the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes region, and the Mississippi from Illinois to the Gulf of Mexico. Indiana lay astride the continental divide, part in the Province of Canada and part in Louisiana.

### **French Settlement**

The French established three posts in Indiana to guard the Maumee-Wabash route connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio River. They were principally posts where traders could live, keep their supplies, barter with the Indians, and pack their furs for shipment either to Montreal or New Orleans. Since the French government obtained revenue from the fur trade, and wished to protect the waterways of communication, it usually kept troops at these posts. A fort was established at the portage from the Maumee to the Little Wabash, where Fort Wayne now stands, possibly in 1714. It came to be known as the Fort of the Miamis, or Fort Miamis. Another settlement was made among the Wea, or Ouiatenon, and a stockade with block-houses was built about 1719 a few miles below the present city of Lafayette. It was called Fort Ouiatenon. Fort Vincennes, established by Sieur de Vincennes probably in 1731, was the largest and most thriving post and has grown into the city we know today. Because trade was more easily established with the Illinois settlements and New Orleans, Vincennes was administered as part of the Province of Louisiana; the other two forts were part of Canada.

In exchange for hides and furs, the Indians received gunpowder, muskets, lead bullets, traps, kettles, blankets, knives, shirts, paint, beads.



mirrors, jew's harps, and other trinkets. French brandy became an increasing part of this trade, to the detriment of the Indian's physical and social life. The traders raised some corn, wheat, tobacco, a few fruits and vegetables, but did not clear and farm the land. The Indians did not object to a few Frenchmen here and there, since such small settlements did not deplete or scare off the game which the Indians hunted. Indeed, the traders brought them articles which raised the savage standard of living, and the French government made them frequent presents to keep their friendship. Sometimes the traders went out among the tribes and did their trading on the hunting grounds. In the spring they transported their furs to Montreal or New Orleans and procured more trade goods. They frequently married Indian maidens and reared half-breed children. Lonely evenings were broken by dancing, card playing and sports. The game of lacrosse was learned from the Indians. The military commandant was also the civil ruler. The French were Catholic, and the priest was a central figure in their daily life. We are less indebted to the French, however, than to the Indians for our way of living.

### Colonial Wars

France and England came to be the principal rivals in colonizing North America because the French settlements prevented the westward expansion of the English colonies from the Atlantic Coast. Both countries wanted the furs and other raw materials which America produced, and each struggled to draw the Indians against the other. The religion of the two powers also differed. The first colonial war for empire between the mother countries began in 1689; the fourth and last started in 1754. It was called the French and Indian War, and it ended early in 1763 with a conclusive English victory. France lost Canada and her territory east of the Mississippi to England, and gave her land west of the Mississippi to Spain for the latter's unavailing help in the war. The outcome determined that Indiana was to be finally settled not by Frenchmen, but by Englishmen, or at least their American cousins. In turn this meant that English law and government, as well as Protestantism, would prevail. Many of the French inhabitants, never anchored to the land, moved to the west side of the Mississippi. In 1765 the first British official to visit the Indiana posts found Vincennes to be a village of eighty or ninety French families, Ouiatenon with only about fourteen families, and Fort Miamis with even fewer.



### **Pontiac's War**

British occupation of Indiana was neither long nor effective. Garrison troops were sent to occupy Forts Miamis and Ouiatenon late in 1760. Vincennes did not have a British commandant for eighteen years. The Indians of Indiana had been allied with the French in the late war and they disliked the English, especially for their stinginess in giving presents, their hunger for land, their high prices, and their superior attitude. Under the leadership of Chief Pontiac, the tribes around Detroit laid siege to that fort in May, 1763, in the hope of expelling the English from the Northwest and restoring the French. Pontiac dispatched a savage party to Fort Miamis which killed the commandant by ruse and captured the post. The party proceeded down the river to Ouiatenon and siezed that fort. Although the Indians obtained possession of nine western posts, their objective was impossible and they had to give up the warfare by winter. The English re-established their authority the next year, but did not attempt to station troops in Indiana again until the Revolution.

### **An English Wilderness**

The absorption of Canada and the Indian uprisings showed the British government that new policies were needed to deal with the French and Indians of British America. To pacify the savages, white settlement west of the Appalachian mountains was forbidden by the royal Proclamation of 1763. The decree offended land speculators as well as squatters on the land and could not be enforced. Moreover, about half of the original English colonies held charters granting them boundaries from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Virginia claimed a large part of Indiana. The line of white settlement was moved to the Ohio River as far down as the mouth of the Tennessee in 1768, but still excluding Indiana from English settlement.

In 1774 the British parliament passed the Quebec Act, annexing the area north of the Ohio to the province of Quebec in order to establish firm control over settlement and fur trade. French laws and religion were safeguarded. The resulting dominance of French law and Catholicism was generally resented by the Protestant English colonists, who had expected to extend their influence westward.

The limitation on westward expansion and the Quebec Act were two of the many causes of the American Revolution.



## Clark and Western Warfare

When the Revolution began there were no English settlements in Indiana. The meager French population was generally neutral until France allied herself with the United States in 1778.

Early in the war bands of British and Indians frequently raided the Kentucky outposts and the frontier settlements. The Americans were left largely to their own resources for defense. Some fled eastward, others stayed. During this turbulent time George Rogers Clark, then in his early twenties, achieved political and military prominence in the West by leading resistance to the Indians and stiffening the morale of the settlers. He had helped organize Kentucky as a county of Virginia. From Governor Patrick Henry, Clark secured the promise of both men and materials in order to take the offensive in the West, but was disappointed in the amount of help received.

In 1778 Clark's expedition descended the Ohio to the mouth of the Tennessee River, then crossed the Illinois prairies. The troops captured Kaskaskia in July without the loss of a single life. Clark's generous, though firm, treatment of the French and the news of the recently concluded French alliance with the United States strengthened his position. Urged by Father Gibault and Dr. Jean Laffont, the French at Vincennes took the oath of loyalty to the Americans without firing a shot. Clark sent an officer and one soldier to supervise them.

When the British commandant at Detroit, Colonel Henry Hamilton, learned of Clark's success, he collected British and Indian allies to oppose him. Advancing up the Maumee and down the Wabash, he took possession of Vincennes without difficulty. Winter had set in, but Clark determined to march against Vincennes. With about 170 men he set out in February, 1779, from Kaskaskia. Cold, snow, mud, high water, exposure, sickness, and lack of food failed to stop these sons of the wilderness. They surprised the British troops, recaptured Vincennes, and sent Hamilton off to Virginia a prisoner of war.

Because Kaskaskia and Vincennes remained in American hands at the end of the war, the American peace commissioners were encouraged to ask in 1782 for the Mississippi River and the Great Lakes as boundaries of the United States.



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## II. TERRITORIAL DAYS, 1783-1816

### **British Influence**

Between 1783 and 1816 it was uncertain whether the United States would be able to make good its title to all land east of the Mississippi River, between Canada and Florida. Virtually no Americans, except solitary fur traders, ventured north of the Ohio for the first few years. Until 1796 British troops were garrisoned at Niagara, Detroit, and Mackinac on the American side of the Great Lakes. Until the end of the War of 1812, British influence was a potent factor in stiffening the resistance of the Indians to the advancing American settlements. British policy was determined mainly by a desire to protect their lucrative fur trade, the economic base of this region since the arrival of the French.

Peace between the British and Americans in 1783 caught the Indians by surprise and amazed tribal leaders. What right had the British to give lands of the Indians to the Americans? The red men had not agreed to cession of the land nor to the end of warfare and were angrily insisting upon the Ohio River as the approximate boundary between themselves and the American frontiersmen. They feared occupation by American farmers, which would drive out the game, more than the scattered posts of British or French fur traders.

### **Indian Relations, 1783-1795**

Between the Ohio River and the Lakes lived numerous Indian tribes, notably the Miami, Potawatomi, Delaware, Shawnee, Wea, Kickapoo, Piankashaw, and Wyandot or Huron. It is estimated that there were about 5,000 warriors, or 20,000 Indians, in Indiana after the Revolution. This Indian population was most numerous in the northern third of the state, in the upper Wabash and Maumee valleys.

Late in the 1780's Chief Little Turtle and his powerful Miami tribe succeeded in drawing the tribes together to resist the white advance. American settlements along the Ohio River were raided. In 1790, General Josiah Harmer was sent against the Indians only to have a detachment defeated on the banks of the Maumee within the present city of Fort Wayne. Next year Arthur St. Clair, Revolutionary general and governor of the Northwest Territory, was routed in camp,



near the present Ohio-Indiana boundary east of Portland. Little Turtle was active in both Indian victories. General Charles Scott, of Kentucky, was more successful in his attack on the Wea and Kickapoo villages surrounding old Fort Ouiatenon. He burned the towns and destroyed the fort in June, 1791. Immediately following this stroke, General James Wilkinson led an expedition against the Miami village on the Eel River, near the modern city of Logansport. He destroyed the town, and the Indians were killed or scattered.

Angered at St. Clair's failure, President Washington appointed Anthony Wayne to fight not only the Indians, but, if necessary, their British allies. While Wayne collected and drilled his troops, the Indians were urged to make peace, and Little Turtle argued in vain against further resistance. Wayne advanced northward and in the summer of 1794 broke the Indian power at the Battle of Fallen Timbers on the Maumee. The British dared not give military aid to their red allies and prepared to surrender the posts they held illegally. Wayne built a fort, named Fort Wayne, at the old French post on the headwaters of the Maumee, and the next year he made peace with the Indians at Greenville, Ohio.

The Treaty of Greenville cleared the greater part of Ohio and a slice of southeastern Indiana of the Indian title. For about fifteen years relations between the Indians and whites were generally peaceful. This ebbing of Indian warfare encouraged a larger flow of population into the Ohio Valley, some of the immigrants penetrating southern Indiana.

### **Land Problem and Policy**

Virginia's claim to the Northwest was strengthened by her financial support of George Rogers Clark's expedition against Kaskaskia and Vincennes in 1778-1779, and she promised Clark and his troops 150,000 acres of land northwest of the Ohio as a bonus. Land around modern Clarksville was taken up, starting in 1784, and became not only the first authorized American settlement in Indiana, but the first in the Northwest Territory.

During the 1780's Virginia and the other states wisely surrendered their claims to western lands to Congress. The Congress evolved a process of four steps by which the land of the Indians was to become the land of the American settlers. Sale of land by the Indians to the Federal Government was the first requirement—a recognition of Indian title to the land and a prohibition of private purchases in which Indians



might be cheated. Next came survey of the land by the government, with sale of tracts at public auction as the third step. Settlement by the purchasers, or by those who rented or bought from the purchasers, was the final step. Actually, a different practice was often followed. "Squatters" simply moved in and settled in the wilderness, without buying or obtaining title to the property. Such illegal occupation strained Indian relations, yet often had to be recognized by special enactment of Congress because it was protected by local custom.

The Land Ordinance of 1785, providing for the survey of a small area in eastern Ohio, established the method of survey used subsequently in nearly all of the public domain, including Indiana. Land was marked off in congressional townships, six miles square, with each township comprising 36 mile-square sections of 640 acres. Each sixteenth section was reserved to the future inhabitants of the township for the support of common schools. No purchase could be made for less than 640 acres, nor for less than \$1.00 per acre in cash. (Congress was in debt and short of means of obtaining revenue, hence was seeking to make the public domain a source of revenue to pay off the federal debt.) But these minimum terms involved more money than most prospective settlers could pay, and more land than they could use.

Congress was able to sell some large tracts to companies organized by land speculators. In 1787 the Ohio Land Company bought land in southeastern Ohio, paying principally with claims against Congress, and founded Marietta in 1788. A few other companies and wealthy individuals bought large tracts and resold smaller units to settlers. In 1800 William Henry Harrison helped secure another land law which made some concessions to western settlers. Although the minimum price was increased to \$2.00 per acre, the minimum purchase was reduced to 320 acres and payment was permitted in installments. An 1804 law reduced the minimum unit to 160 acres and opened a land office at Vincennes. As the population of the United States moved westward, the land policy of the government grew more lenient and flexible.

### **Government of the Northwest Territory**

George Rogers Clark had left an officer in command at Vincennes who maintained a rough kind of order without supervision or support from Virginia. Major John F. Hamtramck was sent to command at Vincennes in 1787. The surrender of state land claims and the influx of settlers into the upper Ohio Valley made it incumbent on Congress



to organize a civil government for the Northwest Territory. It adopted the Northwest Ordinance in 1787. This law made the territory northwest of the Ohio River a unit for civil government and described the process by which states could be formed out of it and admitted to the Union. Eventually the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota were carved out of this territory.

At first the territory was ruled by a governor, three judges, and a secretary, selected by Congress without consulting the inhabitants. This nonrepresentative system was a temporary expedient until there should be 5,000 freemen in the territory. Then a bicameral assembly was to be added. The lower house was elected; the upper house was appointed by the President from persons nominated by the lower house. The assembly elected a delegate to Congress. High property qualifications were required of both voters and officeholders. Territorial government was to guarantee freedom of speech, press and religion, prohibit slavery, encourage schools, and treat the Indians fairly. When a population of 60,000 was reached, the region was entitled to the final step of adopting a constitution and joining the Union as a state.

### **Indiana Territory**

In 1798 Governor Arthur St. Clair proclaimed the Northwest Territory to be of the second or representative level. In 1800 the Ohio region was nearly ready for statehood, and the remainder of the Northwest Territory was separated from it as Indiana Territory and reverted to the first stage of government. Vincennes was made the capital. The whole of Indiana Territory contained only 5,650 people, a majority of whom were French.

William Henry Harrison, first governor of the territory, did not arrive in Vincennes until early in 1801. He had been secretary of the Northwest Territory and then its first delegate to Congress. Harrison was governor of Indiana Territory until late in 1812 when he resigned to carry on military duties in the War of 1812. Subsequently his political career led to the Presidency, but he died after only one month in office.

The governor was the most powerful official in the territory, making nearly all appointments to local offices and to the militia. He also superintended Indian affairs. During the first stage of territorial government (1800-1804) he and the three judges constituted the legislature



and adopted laws to govern Indiana Territory. Together the judges served as the highest court of appeal within the territory.

The French seem to have preferred this nonrepresentative level of government, and the vastness of the area and sparseness of population made it desirable. An 1804 referendum, however, revealed a majority of the voting freeholders in favor of advancing to the representative stage, and late in the year the governor proclaimed its adoption.

When the Ordinance of 1787 was framed, voting and officeholding were extended only to those who met certain property qualifications. The leaven of democracy worked rapidly in the western wilderness, and during Indiana Territory's second stage of government Congress evolved the equivalent of universal suffrage for white males and made the territorial delegate subject to popular election. An 1802 convention at Vincennes petitioned Congress to allow slavery in Indiana Territory, but the petition was not granted. Next year the governor and judges adopted a Virginia law which permitted the substance of slavery by legalizing life contracts between blacks and whites. The law was repealed in 1810, at which time the census reported about 250 slaves in the territory. Slavery never became an established institution in Indiana, although it had existed among the French before the coming of the Americans.

### **Tippecanoe and the War of 1812**

Governor Harrison conducted a succession of treaties between 1801 and 1809 by which the Indians ceded their claims to approximately the southern third of the present states of Indiana and Illinois. These cessions brought encroachments by white settlers which threatened the Indians' continued existence in Indiana, and they organized to defend their remaining land. There were no further cessions until after the War of 1812. Resistance was encouraged by the British in Canada and by a new generation of warriors.

The Prophet and Tecumseh, Shawnee brothers, were leaders in organizing opposition to the whites. The Prophet preached rejection of white influences and a return to the old way of life. Tecumseh seems to have aimed at a close military organization of the Indians north and south of the Ohio. He was a man of ability who won the respect of many of his white enemies, while the Prophet was a conspirator of doubtful virtue. In 1810 and again in 1811, Tecumseh met with Harrison



at Vincennes and denounced the cessions of land, especially the last one, made at Fort Wayne in 1809.

While Tecumseh was among the Indians south of the Ohio in the fall of 1811, Harrison marched up the Wabash toward the Prophet's town with a force of nearly 1,000 men. At Terre Haute, Fort Harrison was erected. The army proceeded northward and encountered the Indians along the Tippecanoe River a few miles above the present city of Lafayette. The Indians asked a council for the following day, but early in the November dawn they attacked. Harrison's troops suffered heavy casualties, with the loss of about 60 men killed and 125 wounded. The Indians losses were also heavy. Neither side won a decisive victory, but the Indians withdrew. The conflict merged into the War of 1812.

The area now forming the state of Indiana suffered more in the War of 1812 than in any previous war. The American advance into Canada quickly backfired, and the British and Indians captured Detroit and massacred the garrison at Fort Dearborn (Chicago). Indian raids penetrated even into Kentucky. American garrisons at Fort Harrison and Fort Wayne were besieged but not captured by the Indians. On December 17, 1812, Colonel Campbell attacked the Miami villages on the Mississinewa River (north of modern Marion) and destroyed them, because most of the Miamis had sided with the British. In the fall of 1812 a band of Indians swept down on the settlement at Pigeon Roost in Scott County and massacred about twenty inhabitants, mostly women and children. Individual settlers were killed and horses stolen for years afterward.

The treaty ending the war had important consequences for the Old Northwest, although there was no change in the boundary between Canada and the United States. Tecumseh had died fighting with the British. The Indians were defeated and ready for peace again; and there were no more Indian wars in Indiana. The war so reduced British influence in the Northwest that it ceased to be a menace. American occupation of the whole region was hastened. Indiana and Illinois were ripe for statehood.

### **Early Settlers and Settlements**

Nearly all the immigrants to territorial Indiana were native-born Americans. About half came from the South (North Carolina, Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky) and almost as many from



Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York. The small remainder came from New England and Europe. Practically all of them settled in southern Indiana close to the Ohio River, with tongues of settlement running northward up the Whitewater and Wabash valleys. Many early settlers were squatters. The population was preponderantly rural, yet such towns as Clarksville, New Albany, Jeffersonville, Madison, Vevay, Charlestown, Brookville, Lawrenceburg, Corydon, Spencer, Salem, Harmony, Princeton, and Richmond had been established by the end of 1816. Fort Wayne was a military post in the northeast, and Vincennes was the capital until 1813, when after much agitation the capital was moved to Corydon, near the center of population.

A Swiss colony settled at Vevay, where vineyards were planted. Simple German peasants who had a common religious faith and led a communal life came from Pennsylvania to the Wabash in 1815 and settled Harmony. Under the leadership of George Rapp they labored hard and prospered for a decade.

By 1810, despite the detachment of Michigan and Illinois as separate territories, the population of Indiana Territory had jumped to 25,000. Five years later, despite the war, it stood close to 64,000, more than enough for statehood. At the end of the territorial period there were fifteen counties in Indiana: eight on the Ohio (Dearborn, Switzerland, Jefferson, Clark, Harrison, Perry, Warrick, Posey); two up the Whitewater (Franklin and Wayne); two more up the Wabash (Gibson and Knox); and three on the East Fork of White River (Orange, Washington, and Jackson). Rivers were important highways of transportation and travel, and most exports floated down the Ohio and Lower Mississippi to New Orleans on flatboats.

The early Hoosiers were excellent pioneers. In southern Indiana they cleared the forests, fought the Indians and diseases, founded schools, churches, and towns, and otherwise established a civilization; while central and especially northern Indiana were yet almost entirely under the sway of the aborigines. They wrested a living from the soil and plied their trades. Several of the larger fortunes of pioneer Indiana were derived from trade with the Indians. Unfortunately, the liquor traffic and land speculation frequently merged with this trade, and the corruption and cheating of the Indians which followed leave a stain on this chapter of our early history.



### Indiana Enters the Union, 1816

Prior to 1816 only five states had been admitted to the Union (Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, and Louisiana). Indiana became the nineteenth state in the country and was followed during the next five years by Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Maine, Missouri. In 1811 the Indiana Assembly had petitioned Congress for statehood, but the response was not favorable. Jonathan Jennings, territorial delegate since 1809, was the leader in the statehood movement and Harrison's successor as the central political figure in the territory. A second memorial for statehood resulted in congressional adoption of an enabling act in April, 1816, which called for a constitutional convention at Corydon in June following.

The Corydon convention framed an excellent constitution that drew heavily upon the practice and experience of neighboring states and the federal Constitution. It was unusually democratic for its day and a better one than the present constitution, which succeeded it in 1851. Slavery was prohibited, and the article calling upon the state to establish a system of schools was much in advance of the times, as well as beyond the immediate financial ability of the state to make effective. Believing in the right of the people to alter their fundamental law, the framers required a referendum on calling a new convention every twelfth year. The usual executive, legislative, and judicial departments were established.

In August, 1816, the first state election was held and Jonathan Jennings was chosen governor with William Hendricks the sole congressman. Soon the first state Assembly convened at Corydon and elected James Noble and Waller Taylor as members of the United States Senate. On December 11, Congress formally admitted Indiana into the Union.

From La Salle's first use of the St. Joseph-Kankakee portage in 1679 until statehood was a period of 137 years, while only 130 years have passed since statehood to this writing. Our present culture has been molded and shaped by what happened before 1816 to a greater degree than most Hoosiers realize. The expulsion of the French by the English, the American acquisition of what is now Indiana, and the reduction of the savages made possible the establishment of American life here. To a considerable degree, Indiana is what it is today because of what happened before 1816.



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## III. PIONEER STATE, 1816-1865

**Population Growth**

Indiana entered the Union with a population of at least 75,000. According to the federal census there were 147,178 Hoosiers in 1820, 685,866 in 1840, and 1,350,428 in 1860. Between 1820 and 1860 the number of people in Indiana multiplied almost ten times, and by the latter date only five states had more inhabitants than Indiana, whereas in 1820 Indiana had ranked eighteenth among the twenty-three states.

No other period has revealed such rapid growth in population, and the development in Indiana was merely a part of the larger flow of population into the Mississippi Valley which brought fifteen states into the Union between 1792 and 1860. An unusually high birth-rate and heavy immigration were the principal factors accounting for this population growth. Indiana was settled more largely by southern stock than any other state of the Old Northwest. In the forties and fifties there was a marked increase in immigration from Germany and the British Isles, especially Ireland, as well as from the Middle Atlantic states. These elements settled largely in the northern half of Indiana because it was the least occupied area and was connected more closely with the Atlantic coast by river, lake, and canal. By 1850 there were nearly 55,000 foreign born in Indiana, over half of whom were natives of Germany and the others principally from Ireland. The Irish contributed substantially to the labor force for building canals, railroads, and factories. They strengthened the Catholic Church and the Democratic party. They also increased the number of paupers and victims of intemperance. The Germans were much slower to merge with the "natives", clinging longer to their language, amusements, and traditions. More thrifty than the Irish, they developed land, trades, and some factories. Although not too politically minded, they usually were Democrats up until the 1850's when many of them swung over to the new Republican party. The history of the brewing industry in Indiana is almost exclusively a chapter in the history of the German population. Until their coming corn whisky had no serious rival.

A very large element of the early population of central Indiana was native to southern Indiana, and likewise many of the early settlers of northern Indiana were born in central and southern Indiana. The current of settlement ran northward rather than westward. The larg-



est town in 1840 was New Albany, with a few more than 4,000 people. In 1850 Madison, New Albany, and Indianapolis, vied for first place with about 10,000 each. Ten years later the capital city of Indianapolis led with a total of close to 19,000.

The northward push of the frontier between 1815 and 1840 caused the removal of nearly all Indians from the state. The fifteen counties existing at the end of the territorial era had become the final ninety-two by 1860, with nearly all counties organized as early as 1840. The prairie lands in northern Indiana were slow in being occupied because of their wetness, the lack of tools to cultivate such soil, and the preference of settlers for timber regions.

### **Making a Living**

The first task of most settlers was the selection of a site for a home. This choice was determined largely by access to markets, availability of drinking water, drainage, nearness to other settlers, preference for timber lands with the advantage of occupying a clearing if possible. Desire to reach markets prompted most settlers to locate along or near rivers, until land transportation was improved. Neighbors were generally wanted, but not too many. A site already cleared by fire, Indians, hunters, or earlier settlers gave one a head start in cultivating a crop.

Pioneer homes were usually log cabins, although newcomers often built half-faced camps (one side open) for temporary shelter. Building a log cabin was a co-operative enterprise involving the labor of neighbors to lift the logs in place. Similarly, fields were cleared by "log-rolling" parties in which teams contested in rolling felled trees into heaps for burning. Frontier individualism was rarely absolute; community co-operation was required for survival. In this environment Abraham Lincoln spent his formative years, from age seven to twenty-one, in Spencer County. As the early pioneers prospered, they could afford better houses of brick, stone, or lapped siding. Handsomely proportioned furniture replaced crude benches and tables and beds. This second period of house building coincided with a revival of interest in the classical architecture of ancient times. There are several fine examples in southern and central Indiana of the so-called "Greek revival" style of architecture.

Labor and thrift were exalted partly as a matter of making a virtue of an economic necessity. Hard work was the common lot of men, women, and children, with the role of women the most severe of



all. Yet the rewards of hard work were almost certain. Clearing the thick forest and planting and cultivating crops were long and tiring tasks done with only a few simple tools. Men worked hardest while planting and harvesting, but had seasons when they could hunt or make trips. Teen-age boys and girls did about everything that was done by their parents. Mother's task was never done, and "raising" a large family made an endless task of cleaning, mending, sewing, cooking, and caring for the sick and injured. In addition, the mother had a large share in tending to the garden, caring for the chickens, and instructing the children. Each year she faced the job of making jams, jellies, preserves, mincemeat, and of drying fruits and vegetables.

Agriculture was the economy of pioneer Indiana, and corn was the basic crop. It could be planted in cleared patches in which stumps were left. It was food for man and beast. Pioneers ate corn on the cob, mixed it with beans for hominy, parched it, made cornbread, hoe cake, and mush. Some drank their corn as whisky, but it was more common to turn corn into pork by feeding it to hogs. Hogs had no rival among livestock, though there were oxen, plug horses, scrub cattle, and poultry on most farms. Corn fed to hogs produced meat for the table and provided a crop that could be driven to market and sold down the river.

With land abundant, farming methods were wasteful and destructive of soil fertility. Lack of crop rotation, seed selection, adequate cultivation, proper tools, and fertilizers characterized early agriculture, but yields were high because of the richness of the soil. By the forties and fifties the good influence of county agricultural societies, farm papers, and individuals interested in better seeds, stock, methods, and tools slowly began to be felt. County and state fairs, with exhibits, premiums, and contests contributed to this improvement.

Common trades and manufactures were gristmills, sawmills, paper mills, shipyards, packing plants, tanneries, blacksmith shops, brickyards, cabinet work, distilleries, breweries, and wagon making. Whereas the first settlers made nearly everything they used, by the 1850's "store" clothing, food, and tools were in greater use, although the trades and industries producing them were almost always local.

### **Travel and Transportation**

In territorial days there was not an improved highway within Indiana. The early settlers followed the trails made by the Indians or



animals through the wilderness. Travel on the rivers in flatboats was much easier, although affected by floods, rapids, sand bars, and fallen trees. Flatboats often continued down to the Lower Mississippi with cargoes of pork, whisky, corn, lard, etc. In 1811 the first steamboat appeared on the Ohio. By the early 1820's steamboats began pointing their noses up the Whitewater, Wabash, and White rivers. In 1831 one reached Indianapolis, but got stuck on the return voyage. By 1840 steamboats were plying up and down the Ohio with cargoes and passengers, but until at least the Civil War the flatboat remained the chief vehicle of river transportation.

The 1830's introduced the "canal age" to Indiana. Aided by a large federal land grant, a canal was started to connect the Maumee River at Fort Wayne with the Wabash. It was eventually extended via Terre Haute to Evansville. About twenty years were required to build it. The State of Indiana provided for the Whitewater Canal, running from Richmond alongside the Whitewater River to the Ohio. A third canal never finished was projected from Peru through Marion, Anderson, and Indianapolis, following the White River to a junction with the first canal to Evansville. The canals required heavy investments and constant care in the face of floods. Indiana went heavily in debt and the competition of the railroads hastened the downfall of the canal system.

An early road was the Buffalo Trace, a widened buffalo trail running from New Albany to Vincennes. In the late 1820's and early 1830's, two broad highways were laid across the state. The National Road, which Congress had projected from Wheeling to St. Louis, crossed Indiana from Richmond, through Indianapolis to Terre Haute. The state developed the Michigan Road, running from Madison northward through Shelbyville, Indianapolis, Logansport, South Bend to Michigan City. Stagecoaches carried passengers, mail, and small freight in jolting fashion, through mud and dust, over these crude highways. Logs were sometimes laid in low muddy places, making "corduroy roads." Later on planks were tried, but gravel was found more satisfactory.

Indiana's first railroad was a shortline at Shelbyville in 1834, the car pulled by a horse. A steam railroad was started northward from Madison in 1838. The rails reached Columbus in 1844 and Indianapolis in 1847, when a great celebration was held. By 1850 there were about 200 miles of railroad in Indiana and in 1860 the total had jumped to around 2,000 miles.



Improvements in transportation stimulated settlement in the northern half of the state, encouraged land booms there, and increased Indiana's connections with the East, although most of Indiana's exports still went down the Ohio. The eastern connection was important in strengthening Union sentiment before and during the Civil War. The first telegraph office in Indiana opened in Vincennes late in 1847.

### **Education and Religion**

Although the Constitution of 1816 called for establishment of "a general system of education, ascending in a regular graduation, from township schools to a state university," "as soon as circumstances permit," no "system" had been established before 1851, when a new constitution was adopted. Public schools were on a local-option basis, and a few were excellent. Churches and individuals maintained many good private schools, but they were generally not free. The Quakers probably had the best elementary schools, while many ministers, especially Presbyterians, taught schools.

Obstacles to the development of free public schools were the tax burden, a sparse population and transportation difficulties, a lingering feeling of class and sectarian differences, and a preference by some families for schools under church or private control. Finally, the state plunged itself into so much debt for canals that it could not start free schools. Colleges and universities were numerous enough, but barely survived financially and had meager enrollment. Vincennes University was started in 1801 and incorporated by the General Assembly in 1806. Indiana University opened at Bloomington about 1825. It is the oldest state university west of the Appalachians in point of continuous service. Other colleges were founded and supported by the churches.

The Constitution of 1851 was less favorable to "a general system of education." but a more favorable public opinion, combined with greater financial strength, led to the achievement of a free public school system during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Most of the early Hoosiers were Protestants, with the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists among the earliest and most numerous. After 1840 the Christians (Disciples of Christ) increased to complete the "big four" of Protestantism. The Quakers, United Brethren, Episcopalians, Lutherans, and Unitarians were important Protestant minorities. The oldest church in Indiana is Catholic, established by the French in



Vincennes. Newcomers brought additional Catholics, and their number was greatly increased with the advent of Irish and Germans.

Many early churches organized and first met in homes, schools, and barns or groves. The itinerant system of Methodism was well suited to frontier conditions and helps explain their rapid advance. The circuit-riding preacher was also used by other denominations. Many ministers showed zeal that spurred them on amid great hardships and sacrifice to bring the gospel to isolated settlements. That not everyone responded to the program of the churches is indicated by the stress on "revivals", which were commonly supercharged with emotional appeals to better conduct. The churches were the main antagonist of frontier drinking, brawling, and gambling.

### Political Parties and Issues

When Indiana Territory was organized, the Federalist party of Washington and Hamilton was about to be overthrown by the Jeffersonian Republicans. In Indiana Territory a rivalry developed between followers of Harrison and Jennings, but both factions were Jeffersonian Republicans. There was also an east-west rivalry between the Whitewater Valley and Lower Wabash settlers which was partly identified with this personal rivalry. Issues were not sharply defined, but there was a general demand for increased political democracy, support of the War of 1812, a stern Indian policy, land legislation more generous to settlers, and federal support of internal improvements.

With the national election of 1824, the Jeffersonian Republicans split into National Republicans led by J. Q. Adams and Henry Clay, and Democratic Republicans led by Andrew Jackson and others. The former encouraged federal support of internal improvements, the United States Bank, a protective tariff, a strong representative government, and liberal interpretation of the federal Constitution. The Jacksonians included men of divergent views and were less certain what they favored, but they represented a western surge toward broader democracy and elevation of the "common man" which was irresistible. Issues were often overshadowed by personalities. Indiana usually voted for Jackson or his candidates in national elections from 1824 to 1840, while keeping the National Republicans and their successor, the Whigs, in control of the state.

Under Whig leadership an unusually successful system of state banking was established and an equally unsuccessful system of internal



improvements inaugurated. The depression of the late 1830's brought financial chaos and fiscal insolvency and contributed much to Whig defeat in 1843. The Democrats then dominated state politics until the Civil War. They lowered the state debt, preached economy, established common schools, urged states' rights and the rights of individuals, and provided institutions for the insane, the blind, and the deaf and dumb. They generally ignored or evaded the emerging slavery issue, viewed temperance as a moral rather than political issue, and successfully sought the support of the Germans and Irish. After considerable agitation, a new constitution was drafted in 1850-51 under Democratic influence. It reflected Jacksonian concepts and made elections more frequent, more offices elective, substituted biennial for annual sessions of the Assembly, specified state-debt limitations, and brought Negro exclusion.

Though slavery had never been an institution in Indiana, neither had free Negroes been welcomed. Indiana had about 10,000 people of color when their coming was prohibited by the new constitution. The more militant antislavery movement was echoed by some antislavery newspapers in the state, the churches increasingly condemned slavery on moral grounds, the agitation of antislavery third parties such as Liberty and Free Soil tickets was felt, and many Whigs objected to the Mexican War as a conspiracy to extend slavery.

Then came the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, allowing settlers in each territory to determine whether they would have slaves. This was the spark that caused a political revolution. The Republican party was born, with opposition to slavery extension and a demand for free homesteads for settlers as important planks. Indiana was sending many emigrants to the public domain who wanted not only free land, but land free of slavery. The new party encouraged temperance, and under its influence the state tried prohibition briefly. The Democrats were hard to dislodge, and not until 1860 did the Republicans carry Indiana and elect a governor and Assembly.

Threats of secession alarmed Hoosiers, and although a vast majority preferred some compromise short of war, they were equally firm in believing that preservation of the Union was an economic and political necessity. Indecision was ended when the Confederates fired on the expedition sent to re-supply Fort Sumter in April, 1861. For the moment there was a unity of purpose and feeling greatly in excess of anything the state had ever known.



## The Civil War and Its Aftermath

The call to arms by President Lincoln produced more Hoosier volunteers than requested or needed, and a special session of the General Assembly provided for recruiting and weapons. Governor Morton moved in advance of public opinion and the tide of events, determined to support the Union vigorously. Initial unity and enthusiasm waned as the prolonged conflict brought accounts of suffering and heavy casualties, and recruiting became difficult. Bounties were offered, then drafting enforced. Altogether Indiana supplied nearly 200,000 men to the army and navy from a population of 1,350,500, or almost 15 per cent of its population! Over 24,400 Hoosiers lost their lives, or 12 per cent of the men engaged.

Indiana was not the scene of any decisive battles, but there were occasional raids on this side of the Ohio. The most alarming was made by General John Morgan in the summer of 1863. Jeffersonville served as an important military depot for Union forces being sent into the South.

On the home front there was abundant political strife resulting from a blending of politics and patriotism in varying degree. There was opposition to the war, including some interference with drafting by organized secret societies. Democrats charged Governor Morton with high-handed and arbitrary conduct of the war, and Morton's associates accused the Democrats of treasonable and obstructionist tactics. When the General Assembly gained a Democratic majority in 1862 and failed to give Morton the appropriations he wanted, he borrowed money from J. F. D. Lanier, New York financier, formerly of Madison, to carry on the state's war activities. Eventually the state sustained his independent action and repaid the loan.

The Civil War induced or speeded many significant changes. The common school system of the 1850's suffered irreparable losses during and after the war. Industrialization and urbanization were given an impetus, although Indiana remained primarily an agricultural state. Labor-saving machinery, such as the reaper, threshing machine, and improved plow, came into greater use during the war. The Republican Party emerged with increased prestige as the party which had "saved the Union." Negro exclusion was ended, and Negro suffrage granted. The war having produced its maimed, orphans, and widows who looked to the state for relief, the social responsibility of government was enlarged. Pioneer ways and influence waned as urbanization and industrialization helped shape a new society.



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## IV. MODERN DEVELOPMENT, 1865-1945

**Population Changes**

Although the volume of population increase has been larger since the Civil War than preceding it, the percentage of growth has been less. The 1860 total of 1,350,000 inhabitants was nearly doubled by 1900, when the population reached 2,516,00. Between the turn of the century and 1940, the total climbed to 3,428,000, an increase of over 900,000, but less than 40 per cent, for this forty-year period. Indiana ranked twelfth in population among the states.

In 1860 more than 90 per cent of the people lived in rural areas, with only a few cities having a population in excess of 10,000. Indianapolis, the largest, had less than 19,000. A majority of the population lived in the southern half of the state. Urbanization and a northward sweep have again characterized population trends since the Civil War. By 1900 about one-third of the population was urban, and by 1940 more than half, or about 55 per cent. At this latter date, most of the larger cities and the majority of the people were in the northern half of the state. The 1940 census showed Indianapolis with a population of 387,000; Fort Wayne, 118,000; Gary, 112,000; South Bend, 101,000; and Evansville, 97,000.

Immigration has played its part in increasing the population, as it did before the Civil War. Germans and Irish continued to come, but since about 1880 there has also been a marked increase in the arrival of Italians, Greeks, Hungarians, Poles, and other southern and south-eastern Europeans. A Belgian colony has grown up in Mishawaka. Generally these people settled in the emerging industrial areas of the northern third of the state, and the greatest immigration occurred between 1880 and World War I. At the same time and during that war, there was an increase in the immigration of Negroes to Indiana.

Foreign immigration slackened in the 1920's and virtually ceased during the depression of the 1930's. World War II caused a considerable movement of population. The northward trek of Southerners, both black and white, was accelerated by the demands of defense industries, and the war gave further impetus to urbanization within the state.

**Agriculture Mechanized**

Probably during no decade in our history did Hoosier farmers make so much economic advance as in the "glorious 1850's." Revolutionary



changes in industry since the Civil War have been accompanied by sweeping and significant changes in the methods of agriculture, yet the crops and stock remain very much the same. Corn and hogs have been the principal source of farm income since the advent of American settlers. As Logan Esarey put it in *The Indiana Home*: "We may sing the praise of all the heroes of Indiana from La Salle or George Rogers Clark to the present, but the prosperity of our state through the century has depended on Mr. Hog. In fat years and lean years . . . he has come up with his part, even though he does grunt about it considerably."

County agricultural societies and farm papers heralded the changes in farming methods even before the Civil War. They encouraged and promoted county fairs, selection of better seed, breeding of improved stock, rotation of crops, more use of both natural and commercial fertilizers, protection against erosion, better roads to reach markets, free elementary education, participation of farm organization in politics, etc. The first state fair was held at Indianapolis in 1852. The opening of Purdue University in 1874 provided a place where agricultural improvements might be tested. In recent decades farmers have become much more willing to accept new methods recommended by Purdue.

Steadily improved farm implements have decreased some of the exhausting hand labor and made farming more of a mechanized business. Better plows, reapers, and combines, cornpickers, tractors, milking machines, electric power, and improved stock and seed have all contributed to increase agricultural production. Rural housing has improved slowly as modern city conveniences were made available to farmers. In recent years tomatoes have become a crop of great importance, and egg and poultry production is now significantly large, especially in northern Indiana.

Although secondary to industry as a source of livelihood, farming is still of great economic and social significance. Indiana's urban population is distributed among many relatively small cities, and many of those inhabitants are close enough by birth or proximity to farms to cherish rural and agrarian traditions. The agricultural atmosphere has by no means disappeared.

### **Manufacturing and Mining**

The evolution of manufacturing has been the principal factor changing the economic scene since the Civil War. This growth, in Indiana as in the United States generally, has been characterized by the emer-



gence of the giant corporation, with mass production made possible by division of labor into small tasks which are easily learned and rapidly done. The increased production of goods at lower cost has made possible wider distribution and a consequent rise in our general standard of living.

In 1860 the total value of manufactured products was almost \$43,000,000, with approximately 21,300 wage earners employed. The leading products in order of their importance were: flour, lumber, meats, liquor, machinery, boots and shoes, carriages and wagons, furniture, and agricultural implements. The total value of the first three was greater than that of the remainder combined. Manufacturing was concentrated chiefly in counties bordering on the National Road or along the Ohio River.

By 1900 the total value of manufactured goods had multiplied to nine times that of 1860, and the number of laborers had increased over seven times. Output per worker had greatly increased through use of more machinery and division of labor. The leading manufactured products were: meats, flour, liquor, lumber, iron and steel, railway-car repairs, machinery, carriages and wagons, glass, and agricultural implements. Northern Indiana counties were rapidly becoming industrialized.

By 1930 the value of manufactured products had jumped to more than two and one-half billion dollars, or six to seven times that of 1900, while the number of laborers so engaged had but slightly more than doubled, reaching 314,698. After the depression years, these figures were again reached in 1940 and far surpassed during World War II. In addition to machinery, automatic power was increasing production without so many hands, but new industries were developing constantly and offering new opportunities for labor. The leading product of 1930 reflect the shift to the metal industries: iron and steel, automobiles, machinery, electrical machinery, railway-car repairs, meats, motor vehicle parts, furniture, pig iron and coke. The phenomenal rise of Gary, founded in 1906, helped center and enlarge manufacturing activity in the Calumet region.

Growth of the Studebaker Corporation serves as a vivid example. In 1852 the Studebaker blacksmith shop at South Bend began making wagons. It was then only one of hundreds of blacksmith shops, and in 1860 was valued at \$10,000. By 1900 there were 2,500 employees engaged in making wagons and carriages that brought sales of nearly



\$4,000,000. In 1940 there were nearly 8,000 employees, with total sales of over \$84,000,000, chiefly of automobiles and trucks. The corporation's figures for 1945, the last year of World War II, revealed a peak employment of 23,600 and sales of nearly \$213,000,000.

Access to lake and railroad transportation, a centralized geographical location, and relative safety from air bombing made Indiana a booming center of industrial output during World War II, which in turn gave extra stimulus to industrialization. Indiana ranks ninth in industrial production among the states.

Though never a leading mining state, Indiana has produced considerable coal, stone, gas, and oil. Coal mining is scattered in the southwestern part of the state, and the soft coal is consumed largely within the state. Building stone is quarried principally in Monroe, Lawrence, Owen, and Washington counties, but is used all over the United States, especially for public buildings. The natural-gas boom came to Indiana in the 1880's, causing a number of towns to spring up over night and stimulating such industries as glass making in Muncie, but most wells were of limited duration. With gas came a limited production of oil. Recent years have seen a renewed activity in drilling for oil.

The status of labor has changed with this development of industry and mining. A few trade or craft unions existed in 1865. The decade of the 1870's awakened class consciousness. The Knights of Labor, a national society, became strong in Indiana in the late seventies, but declined a decade later as the American Federation of Labor grew. Probably the first state federation of labor was formed in Indiana in 1885 at a meeting of trade union delegates. In 1893 the right of workers to join unions was recognized and protected by law, and four years later a state labor commission was created to investigate labor disputes. Most industrial workers were ineligible for membership in the craft unions of the state federation, however, but they were rapidly organized by the industrial unions that have flourished since 1930. One of the first advocates of industrial unionism was Eugene V. Debs, a Hoosier. The unions have proved helpful in securing improved working conditions, safety inspections, fewer working hours, and higher wages. Despite some lagging, labor has shared in the advancing standard of living.

### **Transportation Development**

Improvement in transportation has accompanied the development of industry and mining and even encouraged it. Railroad lines that totaled



about 2,000 miles in 1860 have spread out like a spider web until there are 6,800 miles of rails in the state today. Her location between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River gives Indiana the benefit of the main continental routes from East to West. Roads have replaced the rivers and canals as highways, and trucks and busses have taken the place of flatboats and steamships. Today Indiana has over 76,000 miles of roads of all kinds. Yet the Ohio River was a determining factor in the ability of Evansville to manufacture and deliver small fighting craft during the recent war. Interurbans enjoyed great popularity during the first thirty years of this century, before bowing out to competition from trucks, busses, and passenger cars.

The first automobile, or "horseless carriage," in the United States was invented and tried out in Indiana. It was built by Elwood Haynes at Kokomo in 1894. The same year Charles Black made an automobile in Indianapolis. For a time it appeared as if Indiana would take the lead in manufacturing motor cars, but now the state is more engrossed in making parts for them. The social effects of the automobile era have been tremendous. With almost every family owning its own method of transportation, provincial thinking has been broadened by enlarged horizons, the accidental-death rate has soared and crime has become motorized, rural isolation has decreased, suburban city living has increased, the pace of living has been intensified.

Along with transportation, the improvement in the telegraph and the invention of the telephone and radio have enlarged the world in which each individual lives. The ease of instantaneous communication and the shrinkage of distance inevitably must make all Hoosiers members of the world community.

### **Modern Education and Churches**

Though the Civil War disrupted and retarded the common school advance, the battle for favorable public opinion had already been won. Since 1865 common school sessions have been lengthened, elementary education has been made compulsory, teachers have become better trained and better taught, new subjects have been added to the curriculum and old ones revamped, school "activities" have greatly increased, more suitable buildings have been erected, and the amount of administrative control and supervision has at least equaled the minimum necessary. With consolidated schools in most rural areas, the schools have become more standardized and departmentalized.



After the Civil War the free public high school gradually replaced academies and private schools and won a dominant position in the field of secondary education. Its greatest growth has been in the present century, with the common schools serving as "feeders."

The state university and most of the colleges founded by church denominations were established before the Civil War. Indiana State Teachers College was started at Terre Haute in 1870 to prepare elementary teachers, and Ball State Teachers College was opened at Muncie for the same purpose in 1917. Purdue University was organized in 1874 as a result of a federal land grant act to promote education in agriculture and industry. A few more church colleges were founded. During the last several decades, the colleges and universities have generally added teacher training to their other educational programs. College enrollment, fed by high-school graduates, increased notably after the turn of the century, and after each of the World Wars. In the expanding educational program research has been given greater recognition. Adult education has received attention in extension courses, library expansion, and club work.

In literary production, Indiana has achieved distinction and a reputation. From Edward Eggleston through James Whitcomb Riley, Charles Major, and Lew Wallace to Gene Stratton Porter, Meredith Nicholson, George Ade, Booth Tarkington, and Theodore Dreiser, Indiana authors have held their own with those of any other state. In history, John B. Dillion, Jacob P. Dunn, Charles A. Beard, Albert J. Beveridge, John Clarke Ridpath, Logan Esarey, Claude Bowers, and others have made important contributions.

The religious composition of the population has not changed materially since the 1850's. The Protestant denominations in the lead are Methodist, Christian, Baptist, and Lutheran. Sunday Schools have become established institutions. Roman Catholics are more numerous than any one Protestant denomination, and account for about 23 per cent of the total church membership in Indiana. Greek Catholics and Hebrew Congregations have appeared as the result of recent European immigration. United Brethren, Dunkers, Mennonites, and Friends form important minorities. The percentage of church membership to total population stood at 42 per cent in 1936.



### In National Politics and World Affairs

Because of the relatively equal strength of the two major political parties in Indiana, the state's electoral vote has frequently been sought by the nomination of vice-presidents from Indiana or the promise of cabinet secretaryships to Indianans. "As Indiana goes, so goes the nation" is a fairly safe forecast, for since 1850 the state has cast its electoral vote for the winning presidential candidate every time except in 1876 (where the outcome was doubted), 1916, 1940 (cast for Wendell Willkie, a native son), and 1944. Colfax, Hendricks, Fairbanks, and Marshall have been vice-presidents from this state, and Benjamin Harrison was living in Indiana when elected president. Many Hoosiers have served in other high federal posts.

From the Civil War until the eve of World War I, Indiana and the nation normally voted Republican in national elections, but within the state Democrats were elected governor almost as frequently as Republicans. State issues and personalities were not always dominated by national considerations. As the party which had "saved the Union," the Republicans remained in power nationally until 1885. Meanwhile, the rapid growth of the trans-Mississippi West, emerging industrialization, and two depressions turned attention from reconstruction of the South to questions of money and tariffs, regulation of railroads and trusts, labor and management strife, and allied issues. Demand for reform stimulated the birth of new political parties—Greenback, Populist, Prohibition, Socialist, Progressive—which found adherents in Indiana. Although the state made few general concessions to such groups, various demands of theirs became effective through legislation by the major parties.

In national affairs, the years from 1901 to 1917, commonly called the Progressive Era, brought increased governmental regulation of economic life. Certain political changes, such as the Constitutional amendments allowing the direct election of United States Senators and the levying of income taxes, brought the government closer to the people. The Socialist Party had its birth in Indianapolis in 1901 through the initiative of Eugene V. Debs, and he was the party's candidate for president four times. Yet the whole progressive movement induced fewer changes in the state than in the nation.

World War I was at first viewed as another European conflict, and both the German and Irish elements in Indiana objected to taking the side of Great Britain. By 1917, however, Hoosier public opinion was



hostile to Germany and ready to support war against her. Indiana furnished 118,000 men and women to the armed forces and suffered the loss of 3,354, a much smaller sacrifice than the Civil War demanded.

From 1917 until 1933 Indiana was in the hands of Republican governors. During this period the state's road building program was started, and the tax laws were revised. In common with a number of other states, Indiana suffered from a revival of the Ku Klux Klan in the middle 1920's, but this secret nativistic movement was smashed by courageous newspapers that aroused public opinion against its intolerance and threat of political pressure. A Democratic administration was inaugurated in 1933, in the midst of general economic depression. Immediate legislation reorganized all state departments, centralizing power in the hands of the governor. This act was repealed in 1941, and a new means of administering the departments provided. The state Supreme Court invalidated the revision, with the result that most departments and commissions reverted to their pre-1933 status. Following the pattern of the national government, responsibilities of state government were enlarged by the creation of a department of public welfare in 1936. The tax base was broadened by enactment of a state income tax law. In 1945 a Republican governor took office.

This switching from one major party to the other is typical of the Indiana political scene. Both parties commonly chart "safe and sane" policies which are more conservative than those of the national government in Washington. The merit system for administrative personnel, including permanent tenure, has not made much advance, and the "spoils system" of awarding jobs to faithful party supporters has its sincere advocates.

Because the first World War was still a fresh memory and isolationism an attractive policy in the 1930's, Indiana watched the rise of dictatorships in Europe without serious apprehension until Nazi Germany struck its neighbors. Even then the belief was widely held that ideas and values cherished here were not threatened. There was very little pro-German sympathy, however. Once more German aims and methods infuriated Americans, and when the Japanese struck at Hawaii, Indiana was ready to plunge into war again. It furnished about 340,000 men and women to the armed forces, of whom almost 10,000 gave their lives. In addition, Hoosiers lent to the federal government nearly half a billion dollars, and state industries turned to war production with speed and enlarged capacity.



With the return of peace, greater participation by the United States in world affairs seems certain. Indiana public opinion, like that of the nation, has not yet crystallized in support of the particular form that participation should take.

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The Indiana Historical Bureau has available for use in the schools a series of five illustrated historical leaflets. They are written in the fourth grade vocabulary and can be used at that level or in the fifth grade. The series has been edited by Professor Joy M. Lacey, of Indiana State Teachers College, and endorsed by the State Department of Public Instruction. The titles are:

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Printers and Publishers

DALE, INDIANA

Nov. 4, 1947

Dr. Louis A. Warren,  
Fort Wayne,  
Indiana

My dear Dr. Warren:

Allow me to express my appreciation for your tireless labor in seeking the truth concerning Abraham Lincoln in Indiana.

I belong to a family whose name is linked by tradition with that of the Lincoln family. That naturally has intensified my interest in Lincoln history. I do not suppose the Brooner family made any great impression upon young Lincoln for I have never heard that he mentioned them in later years. Yet I am much interested in your work for I believe that you are not satisfied with tradition

An outgrowth of that interest is my dream of a new building for Nancy Hanks Park - a library to house authoritative reference material



# THE DALE WEEKLY REPORTER

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Printers and Publishers

DALE, INDIANA

on Lincoln and his period and the few authentic relics associated with his Indiana years.

I am not interested in books Lincoln may have read nor in rails he may have split. I do feel that if the park had a suitable building some of the things Lincoln used might be returned to the Lincoln country.

This is not a begging letter. But do you know of any steps which can be taken in order to secure such a building for the park? The Memorial building is wonderful and useful, but there should be another structure in which a complete Lincoln library could be assembled, together with a safe place for the famous squirrel rifle, the few letters which might be obtained and any other actual relic.

Yours very sincerely,  
J. T. Brooner



November 10, 1947

Mr. O.I. Brooner  
The Dale Weekly Reporter  
Dale, Indiana

My dear Mr. Brooner:

Although I think your idea for a museum is a very fine one, I see no possible way of ever obtaining one through the Conservation Department of the State. It does seem too bad that the interesting items which have been collected in Southern Indiana could not be gathered into one place so that students of Lincoln might have an opportunity to see them and admire them.

It was a pleasure to meet you for a moment or two while in Dale and I am having the name of the Dale Weekly reporter put on our mailing list for Lincoln Love.

Very truly yours,

LAW:EB

Director



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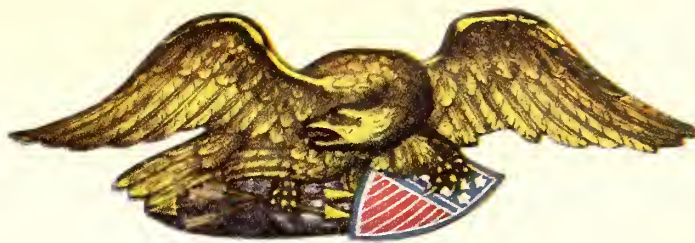
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. . . The magazine contains a most excellent section on California (Spring 1950) which coincides nicely with this year's observance of the centennial of the State's admission to the Union. Your staff compiled a wealth of historical data and some of the most beautiful pictures and illustrations I have seen.

EARL WARREN  
Governor of California

Sirs:

For some time I have been meaning to write you my great admiration for and interest in *American Heritage*. Each number is a delight, and I think the quality goes steadily up.

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I am writing this note . . . to tell you that I think *American Heritage* is a grand magazine. It will do much to make the general reader realize that history is the heritage of us all and not merely a classroom exercise.

JAMES A. BARNES  
Department of History  
Temple University  
Philadelphia, Pa.

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Warm thanks for the copy of *American Heritage*. There's only one word to characterize it: magnificent. Form, content, illustrations. How you can turn out such an opulent quarterly on a membership fee of \$3.00 I can't imagine. . . . Congratulations!

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In material, format and direction [*American Heritage*] is altogether excellent. If the high standard in this issue can be maintained, the Association will make a highly valuable contribution to American historical study and interests. I am full of admiration for the well-written, well-illustrated, and well-planned issue I have at hand.

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Sirs:

You and your associates are to be commended for conceiving and producing so fine a magazine as *American Heritage*. Its format and illustrative materials are a beautiful work of art and its articles are interestingly written. This effort by the American Association for State and Local History to interest Americans, young and old, in their country's past is deserving of every encouragement.

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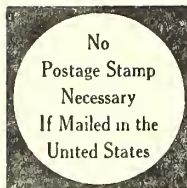
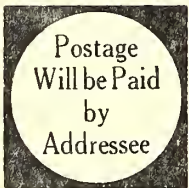
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*The partnership of the Studebaker brothers is reflected in the father-son-and-grandson teams that work in the Studebaker plant today. The exacting craft of tool making is often taught by fathers to sons.*



# CARS FROM AN ANVIL

*The Studebaker Saga*

*by Donald F. Carmony*

THE Studebaker blacksmith shop, established at South Bend in 1852, has become the most widely known Hoosier business. Studebaker is also one of the biggest manufacturing enterprises in the United States, being the largest with home offices and principal output in Indiana. Less than two years hence Studebaker will commence its second century, and the Studebaker saga brings into perspective the economic revolution which has changed Indiana from an agrarian and rural society, with its principal wealth and most of its population in Southern Indiana, to an industrial and urban society, with resources and population greater in Northern Indiana.

The Studebakers—or Studebeckers as the family name was spelled when they first arrived at Philadelphia, in 1736—came when emigration from the Rhineland to colonial Pennsylvania was at high tide. Blacksmiths and wagon makers were among their American descendants, including John Studebaker, father of the boys who established the Studebaker business. John Studebaker plyed his trade as a smithy and wagon-maker near historic Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Here he built a sturdy Conestoga wagon which moved his family to Ashland, Ohio, in 1835, and thence to South Bend in 1851. This wagon is now among the prized items in the Studebaker museum.

February 16, 1852, is generally indicated as the date for the opening of the smithy and wagon-shop under the name of H. & C. Studebaker. One account states that during the first day the new shop had only one customer, who paid twenty-five cents to have two shoes put on a horse. Approximately \$68 in capital was required for the shop, which had only two forges. Blacksmiths were then numerous in Indiana and wagon-making was fairly common. During the next three-quarters of a century the Studebaker shop would probably have also disappeared, rather than becoming the largest wagon manufacturer in the world, except that during the first decade of operation the brothers established a favorable local reputation, got their first government order and received needed capital for expansion from "J. M."—as John Mohler Studebaker came to be called.

In 1853 the youthful J. M. joined a party enroute to the California gold mines, driving one of the first wagons from the new Studebaker shop. Nearly six months later he arrived at Hangtown, now Placerville, and immediately became employed by H. L. Hinds making wheelbarrows and miners' picks, repairing stages and related tasks. Henry and Clem, the founders, carried forward the smithing and



STUDEBAKER HOMESTEAD and blacksmith shop, Ashland, Ohio, about 1835. The family left Ohio in 1851 and moved to South Bend, Indiana, where a year later two of the sons opened a blacksmith and wagon-building shop. Later three more Studebaker brothers joined the firm and helped to expand it into the largest wagon and carriage manufacturing plant in the world.

wagon-making, apparently making much less than one wagon per month during the first several years. About 1856 they made their initial carriage and in 1857 came their first government order which they received as a sub-contractor for the larger Milburn Wagon Works in nearby Mishawaka. Their facilities were expanded and next year J. M. returned from California and paid Henry \$3,000, which the latter used to buy a farm and retire from the shop. The remaining \$5,000 which J. M. had saved was invested in the business which he and Clem continued under the name of H. & C. Studebaker.

In the same year a local newspaper carried the firm's first ad, calling the attention of the public to the "large and splendid assortment of Carriages, Buggies, Wagons and Sleigh-cutters" for sale. It was indicated that "Blacksmithing, painting, trimming, custom work and repair [were] done on short notice in the best style." Another early ad made a direct appeal to farmers:

If you set out to buy a horse, you don't deliberately take chances on a spavined, wind-broken, moon-eyed, knock-kneed animal. What you seek for is a beast that is sound, strong, handsome and enduring. You don't buy a horse simply because the price is the lowest. But how is it when you buy a Wagon or Carriage? Are you particular to get a vehicle that you know to be, in workmanship, beauty and strength, the best in the market? Or do you take something made up of culled lumber,



inferior iron, unskilled labor, and worthless paints and varnishes, simply because the price is low, and for the time being it can pass muster in appearance, forgetting the hazard to yourself and family in riding in such a conveyance.

If you want a *Farm Wagon*, *Freight Wagon*, *Spring Wagon*, *Phaeton*, *Open Buggy*, *Top Carriage*, *Landau* or vehicle of any kind, see that it bears the name "*Studebaker*" which is a certain guarantee of excellence and superiority.

Sales increased and Peter, owner of a general store about twenty-five miles away at Goshen, took a few wagons to sell and was soon requesting more to meet the local demand for the bright-colored vehicles. In 1860 he became chief salesman for the brothers at which time annual sales totaled around \$10,000, with a labor force of about seventeen men.



STUDEBAKER BROTHERS, the founders. Back row, l. to r.: Peter (1836-1897) and Jacob (1844-1887). Front row, l. to r.: Clement (1831-1901), Henry (1826-1895), and John (1833-1917).

Peter became as effective selling Studebaker wagons as Paul Hoffman has been selling Studebaker cars in the twentieth century.

The Civil War resulted in expanded facilities, an augmented labor force and an increased productive capacity. Studebaker transport, supply, mess and ammunition wagons, and ambulance carts were used on many battlefields during the four years of fraternal strife. During the war Peter became a partner and following the war he established and developed St. Joseph, Missouri, as the first full-fledged sales branch.

In 1868 sales totaled \$360,619, with about 200 men employed making wagons, carriages, buggies and related vehicles. In this year the business was incorporated as the Studebaker Brothers Manufacturing Company and capitalized at \$75,000. Peter, Clem and J. M. held equal amounts of capital and each was to draw a yearly salary of \$2,000. Clem, the eldest, became president, Peter secretary and J. M. was made treasurer. Studebaker expansion continued decade by decade and by the turn of the century sales depots were established at such scattered points as Chicago, New

York, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Kansas City (Missouri), Salt Lake City, San Francisco, Dallas, Denver and Portland. The latter became a branch factory in the 1890's.

In 1872 there was a fire with an estimated loss of \$70,000, followed by the Panic of '73, and a more disastrous fire with a loss of around \$300,000 in 1874. In the latter year sales dropped for the first year since the company was organized. But in 1875, while the depression was still heavy over industry generally, sales grossed \$1,032,040, the largest yet. In 1902 when the fiftieth anniversary of the business was observed, sales were at a peak of \$4,083,000. Wagons for the government to "pacify" the Indians and for use in the Spanish-American War, as well as to the British for use against the Boers, accounted for only a negligible proportion of sales between the Civil War and the half-century anniversary.

Many methods were used to expand markets. Peter directed and "cultivated" the salesmen, circulars were made available, publicity was widely distributed, ads were featured, Studebaker exhibits appeared in scores of county and state fairs, and challenges were made and contests held to prove the superiority of Studebaker vehicles. Special carriages were made, such as those for Presidents Harrison, McKinley and Roosevelt. In 1899 all salesmen were invited to South Bend as guests of the company for a general sales and "orientation" meeting. Dealers were established in other countries. Vehicles offered for sale included four-in-hand coaches, runabouts, canopy top surreys, coupé rockaways, mail buggies, express wagons, street sprinklers, mountain wagons, mining trucks, tandem carts, ambulances, logging trucks, standard farm wagons, etc. Harness was also sold.

In 1897 Studebaker experimented with the "horseless" carriage, testing electric, gasoline and possibly even steam models. Two years later they began building bodies for electric runabouts for another company and in 1902, their anniversary year, Studebaker built and sold twenty electric runabouts, selling a total of about 1,841 by 1912 when such production was terminated. In 1904 production was commenced on gasoline cars and approximately 2,481 cars and trucks were made during the ensuing seven years, but the chassis were made by another company. In 1908 an agreement was made with the Everitt-Metzger-Flanders Company, of Detroit, by which Studebaker had exclusive sale of the Studebaker-E-M-F cars. This arrangement was not satisfactory and two years later Studebaker completely absorbed the Detroit firm and obtained full control over production as well as distribution of cars. In 1911 the company was reorganized as the Studebaker Corporation with a total capital issue of \$43,500,000. J. M. became chairman of the board and Frederick S. Fish, his son-in-law who had been a leader in the transition toward auto production, was made president. Productive capacity of the new corporation was estimated at about 180,000 cars yearly. Annual sales jumped



from \$9,603,661 in 1910, to \$43,444,223 in 1914, when World War I began.

During that war Studebaker production for the British, French, Russian and American governments totaled over \$35,000,000, of which close to half was for the American Government. War products included harness, saddles, sleds, drinking water carts, artillery wheels, ambulances, escort wagons, trucks, garbage carts, sweepers, sprinklers, dump wagons, log trucks, excavators, delivery wagons, road oilers, combat wagons, tank wagons, knife scabbards, mine anchors, etc. Auto production ebbed but continued in wartime.

World War I hastened the inevitable transition from the making of vehicles principally for farm and rural transportation to car and truck production. Wagon, buggy and related production was ended in 1919 and 1920. The Studebaker Light Six, and other models, became well known as car and truck production soared to new peaks in the prosperous twenties.

Then came the crash of 1929 and four years later Studebaker was in receivership. This blow was apparently hastened by the policy of plowing too much into dividends after 1929 when reserves were all important, of catering too much to the higher priced car market, but perhaps the irreparable blow was the disastrous and costly flirtation and attempted merger with the White Company. Among the receivers were Paul Hoffman and Harold Vance, vice-presidents of the corporation, who had proven their ability before 1933 and have achieved substantially more since the gloom of the early thirties. Paul Hoffman immediately announced that Studebaker would carry on and two years later the receivership was lifted.

Studebaker was all set for full-scale production of the Studebaker Champion when World War II ended auto production. From January 31, 1942, until 1945 neither cars nor trucks were made for normal civilian use. Early in 1945 some trucks were made for civilian use with meagre car production resumed in November. Studebaker's war production to American and other governments, much on lend-lease, included about 63,789 engines for B-17 Bombers or enough for around 16,000 bombers; 197,678 military trucks, many of which went to Russia where it is said the name Studebaker and truck have almost become synonymous; about 15,000 weasels, and other war material amounting in sales volume to approximately \$1,200,000,000.

Studebaker production since the war has even exceeded war totals. In 1949 another all-time peak brought gross sales of \$473,119,000 from sales of cars and trucks, and 1950 production will probably be still higher. The present labor force in the South Bend plant alone is in excess of 20,000, excluding office workers. Manufacturing plants are also located at Hamilton, Ontario, and at Los Angeles, California. Studebaker advertising has stressed the slogan that Studebaker was "First by Far with a Post-War Car" and also



STUDEBAKER PLANT, South Bend, as it appeared in 1858. Building at the left is the first shop; the rest were added in 1857.

that Studebaker has given the "New Look" in post-war car design. Studebaker ads continue to feature "father and son" teams which indicate desirable labor-management relations and quality workmanship. Studebaker has never had a sustained strike of plant-wide proportion. Its employees are members of Local Number 5-U. A. W.-C. I. O.

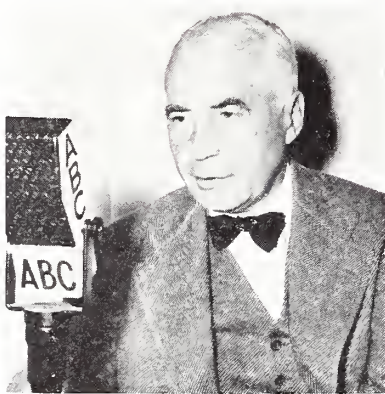
Studebaker leaders, both management and labor, participate in civic and community life with better records than generally attained by corporations and unions. Harold Vance recently headed a South Bend-Mishawaka appeal which netted more than half a million dollars for Notre Dame University whose football team is perhaps the only South Bend product which may be more widely known than Studebaker cars and trucks. Paul Hoffman, although no longer with the Studebaker Corporation since he became ECA Administrator in 1948, has established himself as one of the very ablest citizens of our world. During and after World War II he made invaluable contributions to the educational programs of the Committee for Economic Development and the National Safety Council, along with services to numerous other civic and public posts. END



STUDEBAKER CARRIAGE repository in South Bend about 1900.



By ELMER  
DAVIS



THE BOY FROM AURORA, INDIANA (*which by its very name betrays a modicum of culture over the more literal Rising Sun, farther down the Ohio River*), who went up to Franklin College for both a bachelor's and master's degree, found his incipient newspaper career interrupted by the award of a Rhodes Scholarship in 1912. Elmer Davis spent two years at Oxford University and then joined the staff of the New York Times, where he remained ten years. He quit to write essays, short stories, and books that made him widely known. In 1939 he became news analyst for the Columbia Broadcasting Company, and in 1942 director of the Office of War Information. His straightforward presentation of the war news in his flat Hoosier twang was immensely reassuring to hundreds of thousands of listeners to his broadcasts.

Mr. Davis has been the recipient of several honorary degrees, but he carries his learning lightly and is a sought-after speaker. Despite his Washington address, his outlook on world affairs is tempered by his Hoosier birth and education. He stands solidly astride the Ohio River, his feet planted in the heartland of the United States. Too scholarly to be carried away by superficial theories, debonair and yet homespun, alert to the changing social pattern in this country but sensitive to the pioneer heritage, Elmer Davis remains one of Indiana's proud exports and a radio voice of reliable news.

# WE LIVED

BY THIS TIME, I suppose, everybody in Indiana knows that the state also includes the river counties; and everybody in the river counties knows that they belong to Indiana. People up-state drive down to the banks of the Ohio, on Sunday afternoons, to look at the scenery—the beauty of the flat up-state landscape has been praised by Mr. Tarkington, but people who live there seem occasionally to want something different; and people from the river counties are apt to pile into the car for a week-end in the excellent state parks, farther north, which were unknown when I was a boy. Indeed, most of up-state Indiana was unknown to us residents of the river counties when I was a boy, forty years and more ago: as we were unknown to the people farther north who shared with us the designation of Hoosiers. Indiana was traditionally—a tradition spread far and wide by Hoosier novelists—a flat country, with no hills except in Brown County (and in those days even they had hardly been penetrated by explorers) and no rivers but the Wabash. Hardly anybody had ever heard of the Ohio and its hills. (Not till I went to college up-state did I realize that those hills were not hills at all, but only out-size gullies washed in the plateau by creeks going down to the river.)

Yet it was a river country, a hill country, that I grew up in—a country so different from the rest of the state, in those days, that I should have known practically nothing about Indiana if I hadn't got my education at Franklin College. For which there was good reason. The first settlers of Indiana came in two waves—those who crossed the river from Kentucky (with Virginia or North Carolina origins a generation farther back) and those who came down the river from Pittsburgh, in the days when rivers were the only dependable means of transportation. Some of the Kentuckians went on farther north, though they had pretty well thinned out by the time they got to the latitude of Indianapolis; but many of them stayed on the other side of the river where they first landed. As for the Pennsylvanians, they were river men who settled on the river banks.

My home town, Aurora, was largely the creation of two families—the Holmans who came across from Kentucky and the Gaffs who came down the river. When I was a boy few of us but the politicians knew anything about Indiana, yet all of us were conscious of belonging to the river culture which, from Pittsburgh and St. Paul down to New Orleans, was pretty much of a piece—and different in every state from the culture of the landlocked regions behind it. Aurora was to be sure a special case; it lay on the fringes of the tri-state metropolitan complex of Cincinnati, and in those days at least its citizens felt themselves far more Cincinnatians than Hoosiers. (Cincinnati, "the city" par excellence of my boyhood, still seems to me more of a home town than any place in Indiana—even Aurora, now that most of the people I used to know are dead.) But above all we were conscious of belonging to a river country, a river culture, that had peculiar characteristics of its own.



# IN INDIANA TOO

All that is gone now, and for good reason—it grew when the rivers were the only means of transportation, it survived, not too greatly weakened, in the days of the railroads; but it died in the age of the automobile. In my boyhood the river counties (our county, at least) were painfully trying to recover from the panic of 1893 (and then, about the time they began to see their way out of the woods, from the panic of 1907). There had been a time when they were the most prosperous, and the most civilized part of Indiana, while the upstate pioneers were still clearing away the woods and draining the swamps. Then the railroads began to take away the steamboat traffic, cornfields began to sprout upstate where forests had been, and the river counties went into a decline. The river bottoms were as good corn land as you could find anywhere (they were also the only possible locations for ball parks, so that as late as June you usually had to have ground rules—two bases on a hit into the backwater in left field). Later people found they were good for tobacco, too; they were not very extensive, and the hills were not good for much except apple orchards and hay. There was some small-scale manufacturing; but my town, at least, didn't begin to make a good living again until (after I had left) it developed as a market center for the hay and tobacco trade, and more recently has got some of the overflow of prosperity from the great distilleries as Lawrenceburg, four miles away. It looks far more prosperous now than it did in my boyhood. Yet it is the same kind of prosperity that you can see in any flourishing town from Pittsburgh to Denver; there is no longer anything distinctive about it.

Well, what used to be distinctive about it? Largely a matter of age—not much age, of course, but age enough to count in those days. The river counties belonged to the early decades of the nineteenth century, up-state Indiana to the middle. I once attempted to summarize it, for a visiting savant from Boston, by saying that down on the river we were wearing pants and reading the classics while people up-state were still hunting the mastodon with stone axes. He refused to accept this; he insisted that if southern Indiana wore pants, then or now, they were Tom Lincoln's pants; and that the shiftlessness and footlessness of Tom Lincoln is to this day the dominant characteristic of the inhabitants of those parts. He was wrong; he did not know the river counties. All he had seen of southern Indiana was a town far from the Ohio, or even the Wabash

—a town which owes its fame largely to Dr. Kinsey—with occasional side trips into Brown County, now quantified up for the tourist trade. The river counties, I maintain, used to be different.

It is hard to put that difference into words; which may be why nobody ever has put it into words, though there have been men from the river counties who might have done so. Yet there was a difference we could feel, even if we couldn't express it—a sense of background and belonging. Occasionally the architects managed to express it better; the Lanier house at Madison is now a state memorial; and the Gaff house at Aurora, lately voted by the Institute of Architects the best specimen of its type in the country, has at least been put on ice for the time being as the clubhouse of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Other old houses thereabouts have been rehabilitated; but people die, and their children move away. There are good new houses in the river towns, but they look like good new houses in Muncie or Kokomo, or any other town in the vast area of the Mississippi Valley which the automobile has made all one piece; there is nothing distinctive about them.

The up-stater may sniff scornfully that there never was anything distinctive about us at all; that it was only a myth we created to compensate for our poverty when up-state farmers were getting rich. But it wasn't all a myth. We produced few of the state's great men; our best in politics was William Steele Holman, our best in science Harvey Wiley, our best in literature David Graham Phillips (far better than he is now rated, as a social critic if not as novelist). But there was a sense of settledness, of background, of tradition, even if it was only a few decades older than the tradition of our fellow citizens in the flat country to the north; a shabby-genteel tradition, perhaps, old families (old by the Middle-Western time scale) living in old houses that had seen better days, but still keeping up their standards. And all around us all the time the beauty of the river and the hills—not such a unique and breath-taking beauty as the less traveled among us were taught to believe it was, but a very satisfying landscape none-the-less. We all knew that we had something even if we couldn't quite say what it was—except, of course, that it was not money.

So I stick to my story. We were wearing pants when the up-staters still went around in bearskins, even if we all wear the same kind of clothes now.





# *Re-birth of an Indiana Town*

By JOAN SCHAUB

LATE in the nineteenth century a pioneer Indiana village called Arcole dropped into oblivion. That a complete town might disappear from the face of the earth is not unique, for in those early days many fortresses, outposts and communities were abandoned to die after they had served a purpose. But the singular feature of

Arcole is this: it *did* decay and fall to ruins, but if early settlers were permitted to return today to the site of the village, they would doubtless be surprised to find it as they had left it, nearly 100 years ago.

The story behind this early American village, its rise and fall and ultimate restoration, began back in 1814. Samuel



Jackson, a young naval officer, received a piece of land in Lawrence County, Indiana, as a reward for his services in the War of 1812. The youthful ensign, a Canadian by birth, alighted in southern Indiana and soon had erected a cabin, a small gristmill and later opened a limestone quarry in one of the rocky hillsides. This quarry might easily have been the first in a region that has since become famous for its building stone.

When Ensign Jackson came upon the quiet valley he must have readily appreciated the solitude it would offer. There was a flat valley floor approximately six hundred feet wide and eight hundred feet long. It doubtless was covered with an abundant growth of virgin timber as were the rugged hills which rose abruptly at the edge of the flat table for a height of approximately 200 feet.

Jackson remained in the secluded valley for a couple of years, but being a seaman his desire to roam compelled him to move on. In 1816 he sold his land, his houses and the small gristmill to Thomas and Cuthbert Bullitt, two brothers from Kentucky.

These enterprising Bullitt brothers were real estate promoters who had been traveling through southern Indiana buying up wilderness land that could be adapted for town-sites. They realized that Jackson's tiny valley, abundant in virgin timber, surrounded by hills and with its spring-fed stream, was ideal for a townsite.

Shortly after purchasing the property the Bullitts built a great gristmill with walls of hewn stone three feet thick and boasting a tremendous overshot water wheel. The wheel was turned by a stream of water carried to the mill through a wooded flume, riding a procession of stone piers. The undertaking had some fabulous aspects for that period of time. A stone mill was started by the Bullitts and completed in 1818.

For seven years the Bullitt brothers owned the town, but in 1823 they sold their holdings, at a nice profit, to another pair of brothers, William and Joseph Montgomery of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Additional buildings were erected in the prospering little village by this set of brothers, including a tavern, still house and several residences. Nine years later, still a third pair of brothers bought the village. They were Hugh and Thomas Hamer from Albany, New York. Hugh Hamer was a miller by trade, and he had been operating the mill when the Montgomerys owned the village.

When the Hamers bought the property, they moved into the hamlet and took up residence in two large stone houses, originally built by the Bullitts. By then it was 1832—eighteen years after Ensign Jackson had discovered the sheltered cover which was his home for two years. Many new buildings had been added to the village in that brief expanse of time, but except for the two large stone buildings and the gristmill, the town still had the appearance of a crude, wilderness settlement.

The Hamers wanted the town to be a commercial and social center of a region that was rapidly going forward. They did all they could to give the town an air of settled grace, even a certain elegance. By this time most of the timber had been cleared from the valley floor, except for a number of shade trees, and wide lawns spread around the clustering buildings. Low stone walls were added to protect the verdant areas against marauding pigs and cattle.

The quiet, yet progressive, little town moved along for several years and as the opportunity arose, new facilities for the comfort and convenience of inhabitants were added. Village shops and industries began to take shape and a regular stage stop was made at Arcole, on the line running between Louisville and Terre Haute. Gradually a loom house, pottery, cobbler's shop, hattery, cabinet shop and a tannery took form. An apothecary shop, limekiln and a post office came into existence as well as a church, school and many residences.

It is in this form that the village stands today. It was re-created as it appeared during the Hamer period of ownership. Most of the shops flanked a road that twisted down from the hills and led to the heart of the town, which was the gristmill. The village was, of course, built around the mill and the wooden water flume, mounted high on massive stone piers, paralleled the road.

Most of the residents of the village had come to Indiana from Virginia and North Carolina. They had journeyed to the village to set up shops or work in the gristmill and had made their homes nearby. Although few of them realized it at the time Arcole (or Spring Mill as it was later called) began to die with the coming of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad.

It was in the 1850's that settlers of the small town learned that a railway was building west. It was to link the eastern seaboard towns with the limitless new lands to the west. Naturally the citizens of the hamlet of Arcole hoped the railroad would pass through their town. They probably had visions of the excitement and additional business which would be created in their town if such a thing should happen. But the engineers running their grade lines for the railroad had contrary ideas. They took one look at the guardian hills which flanked the village and ran their stakes several miles to the north, through Mitchell.

The railway was completed in 1859 and from that time Spring Mill's flow of life began to ebb. Hugh Hamer died



*Joan Schaub, associate editor of Outdoor Indiana, was formerly with the Indianapolis News for six years. She has served in the Indiana Department of Conservation for more than two years. Her work takes her out of her office frequently, and she has a considerable interest in the state's memorials and parks as well as its forests and game.*



in 1872, but not before an eccentric Scotsman named George Donaldson bought hill country to the south of the village. Donaldson's land included a wondrous cave, which later had its part in the restoration of Spring Mill village.

According to early reports, Donaldson was somewhat of a character. He used to journey to church each Sunday in a dugout canoe, pulled over the forest trail by a saddle horse. It, apparently, was a tradition of the region that Donaldson should be godfather for each newborn babe, and, if the parents of the child agreed to let the Scotsman name their offspring, there was always a generous cash donation forthcoming. Many youngsters must have lived to regret the day that Donaldson selected their names, however. One he named Faanna and another he called Owassa. It was after Donaldson's departure from the village and his eventual death in 1897 (in Glasgow, Scotland) that the pioneer village began to decay and fall apart.

By 1927 there was little, if any, of the village left at Spring Mill. The village site and much of the land surrounding (including Donaldson's Cave) was owned by the Lehigh Portland Cement Company, an Indiana firm. At that time, through the combined efforts of Colonel Richard Lieber, then director of the Indiana Department of Conservation, and General Harry Trexler, chairman of the board of directors of the cement company, the property was turned over to the Conservation Department for park purposes. When the land was given to the department, it was done on condition that the old village be restored.

The actual planning and restoration of the village were left to an engineering crew, but Colonel Lieber, father of Indiana's widely known state park system, was responsible for much of the ingenuity displayed in the re-creation of Spring Mill village.

There was very little data to go on, and although the mill building stood, it was just a tumble-down shell, and all of the machinery had been removed. The water flume had fallen into decay and long since had disappeared. Fragments of dwelling walls marked their foundations. Colonel Lieber had two objectives foremost in his mind during the restoration period. He expressed these objectives frequently to the engineers. First of all he requested that, "There must be no faking, no sham," and next, he asked that all materials going into the village restoration be taken from the region itself . . . timber from nearby hillsides and stone from the old stone quarry. Both of these wishes were carried out.

Slowly the village began to awaken, the residences were rebuilt, the mill was brought back to life with the original French burrs ready to grind out golden corn meal, the apothecary shop was rebuilt and refurnished, and everything that went into it was authentic of the period. Historians say that there is no finer example anywhere exhibiting the actual conditions under which the Middle Western pioneers lived and labored than in the delightful valley today known as

Spring Mill State Park.

The late Colonel Lieber put it this way: "You come down from the top of the hill two hundred feet and you go back one hundred years."

Donaldson's Cave, which is a part of the park, contains a colony of queer, blind fish. They were discovered by an Indiana University scientist, Dr. Carl H. Eigenmann, who had been making a study of cave vertebrates for six years when he found the blind fish near the dead village of Spring Mill. He named them Amblyopsis, which means dim-eyed. He described them as resembling skinned catfish, swimming on their backs.

Dr. Eigenmann, over a period of many years, led groups of Indiana University students to the cave, where they studied the listless, blind fish inhabiting it. The University even acquired the Donaldson tract so that Dr. Eigenmann might set up a permanent experiment station to investigate the blind fish. Today these bleached and spiritless fish are a source of never-ending interest to park visitors who travel through Donaldson's Cave in Spring Mill.

Since the resurrection of the village an 88-room hotel has been added outside of the village area. In addition a number of family cabins have also been installed. A scenic 30-acre artificial lake with an 800 foot beach adds pleasure to the visit of park patrons. Many miles of trails and improved roads wind through the 1,164-acre park. It is located near the city of Mitchell and may be reached over Indiana highways 37 and 60.

The village is, of course, the center of interest in the park area and visitors are welcome to poke about and wander through the dwellings. These structures have been restored with such painstaking accuracy to their original state, that they appear to have been deserted only recently. Often visitors will find someone busily at work, finishing a bright homespun rug on a hand loom.

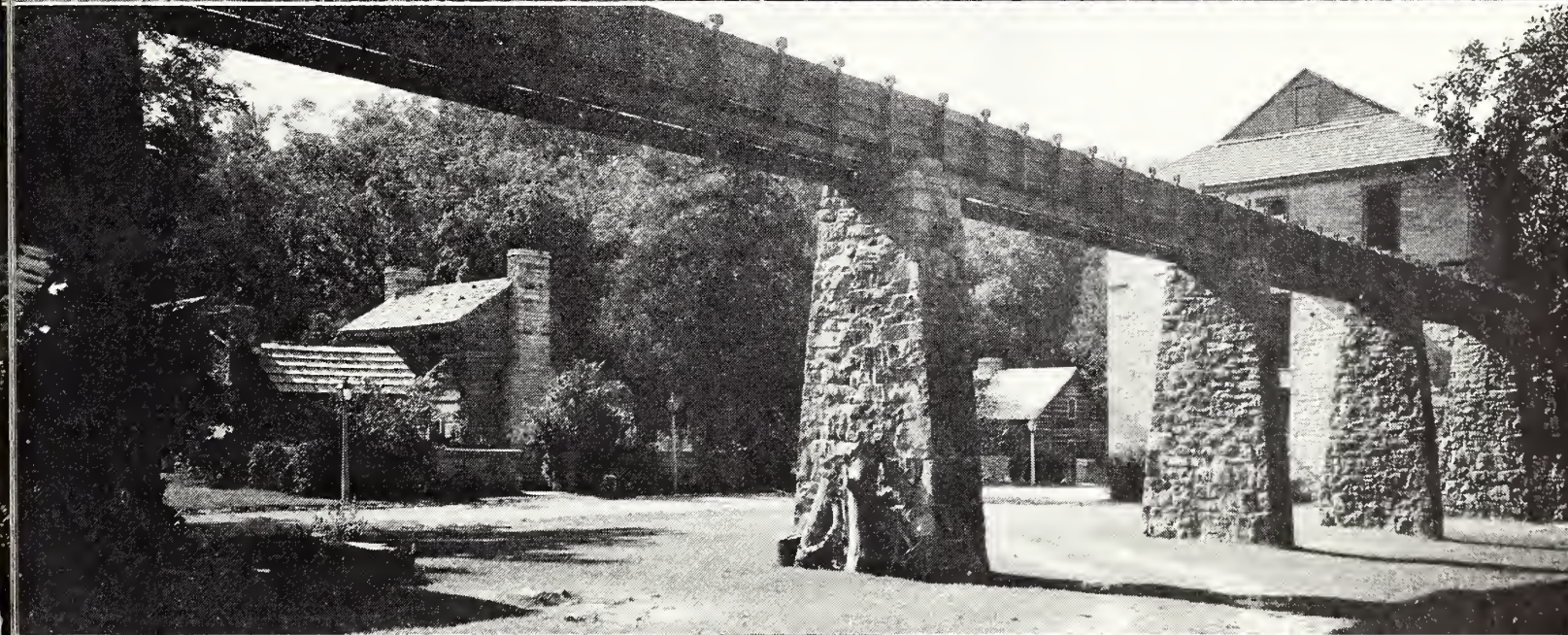
As water rushes and froths over the mill wheel, the burrs spin and grind the yellow meal, which is scooped up and sacked in homespun sacks bearing a picture of the mill. Nearly 25,000 five-pound sacks of meal are sold yearly to park visitors. Some epicures refuse to use any other corn meal than that ground at Spring Mill. Again and again they return for a new supply.

Some imaginative folks like to believe that Spring Mill village was never dead—only sleeping.



*At the upper left are two stone burrs such as are used in the old mill to grind the corn meal sold to park visitors, and the huge overshot water wheel that turns the burrs in the mill. The center picture shows the wooden flume that carries water from the hillside to the top of the mill wheel. The two lower pictures afford a glimpse of part of the restored village, including two shops, and of the entrance to Donaldson's Cave nearby the village proper. ➤*







# New Moral World ON THE WABASH

**D**OWN IN THE POCKET—southwestern corner of Indiana which is formed by the reluctant confluence of the Ohio and Wabash Rivers—lies Posey County.

Posey County positively does not have a "Hoop-pole Township," despite the allegations of middle 19th Century humorists who invented a preposterously crude Hoosier character springing from that mythical locality; loyal Indians know that if such an unwashed breed ever existed it was made up of impostors who simply claimed Hoosier citizenship for the glory of the thing. In any case Posey County could not conceivably have been a breeding-ground for the notably rough-hewn because in the first half of the 19th Century its principal settlement was an important center of culture and advanced thought. From 1814 to 1827 the town of New Harmony harbored far more than its share of peculiar people but none of them was of the type pictured in the impolite literature aforementioned.

One presumes that the name "Posey" impressed the humorists because they assumed it related to the archaic backwoods term meaning flower; it had no such pastoral significance in this case. Posey County was named for General Thomas Posey who was claimed by both his worst enemies and most ardent admirers to be the illegitimate son of General Washington himself, and who was governor of Indiana

Territory from 1813 until it was admitted to the Union as a state in 1816.

In 1813 unsettled Posey County lands were examined by representatives of George Rapp's German pietist community in Pennsylvania. They reported the eligibility of the Wabash bottoms to Father Rapp who purchased some thirty thousand acres from the government and Vincennes speculators and, during the ensuing two years, moved his whole colony out—lock, stock and barrel.

At their town, Harmony, and in their lush fields, orchards, and vineyards the Rappites prospered mightily and in their isolated location Father Rapp was able to increase their religious fanaticism, to do away with the last vestiges of private property and to gain further subscribers to the life of celibacy he recommended.

The Harmony of the Rappites was a handsome town, probably the most

orderly and well built in Indiana by the time the third or fourth state legislature met. The solemn, servile, German-speaking Rappites appeared somehow sinister to their backwoods neighbors of American birth, but their merchandise was sound and cheap and they were accepted without much question. They were odd enough by any standard, Heaven knows, but in the backwoodsmen's own term they were "not a patchin'" to those who were to replace them when Robert Owen bought the community in January, 1825, and invited





all the world which hoped for better things to join him in founding a New System of Society at New Harmony on the Wabash—at Owen's expense!

The multitude which flocked to join Owen made Rapp's people appear by contrast to be colorless conformists to the great American norm. By the time Owen himself reached his new purchase—after a whirlwind campaign of speaking, newspaper releases and personal interviews designed to stimulate interest in the project—he found assembled and awaiting a collection of brilliant impracticals, ne'er-do-wells, professional cadgers, plain crackpots and poseurs heterogeneous enough to put today's southern California to shame. There was also, destined to stay the final dissolution of the community slightly, a handful of earnest converts of the best intention.

Whatever may be said of most of the people who flocked to Indiana to join him, none can deny Owen's own sincerity, misguided though it may have been. A homely, humorless, energetic little Scotsman with a bad digestive system, he had an unquenchable passion for improving the lot of his fellow man—whether, often enough, his fellow wished to be improved or not.

By 1825 his name must have been familiar to almost any literate common citizen who had the slightest interest in current events—and who was not too weary from shooting varmints away from his door, if he happened to reside in the American backwoods, or praying that the fox-hunting gentry would miss trampling his crops if he lived in rural England, or working fourteen or so hours per day in the factories of either country.

Opinion was currently divided as to Owen's proper classification. Those who fancied themselves as liberal thinkers looked upon his activities with favor; conservatives saw his ideas as the very blueprint of chaos. Atheists claimed him as their prophet and the God-fearing saw him as a disciple of the Old Nick himself; capitalists who were vested in competing manufacturies paled at his name—while those with shares in the manufacturing ventures he managed paled only in principal and only when they were not too busy counting their dividends. Robert Owen and the theories he expounded were always the object of violently dissenting opinions—but there can be no question as to the extent of his contemporary fame.

From his earliest years in industrial management Owen had believed that the living and working conditions of factory laborers could and should be improved—he had improved them in the Scottish factories of which he was first manager and then part owner. He believed that working hours (especially those of children) should be limited by law—with the aid of Sir Robert Peel he got them so limited. He believed in free education and he had provided it in those towns in Scotland and England where his business interests lay. Meanwhile he profitted handsomely, and with

his profits and his successes grew his desire to spread his reforms throughout the world; with his desire his plans grew more extensive—and less practical.

As a young man Robert Owen demonstrated a genius for business management and a bent for publicizing his activities. Unfortunately, as he grew older, he put aside his practical sense and erected a rose-colored screen between himself and the world which shut out the less pleasant facts of human nature from his sight; which prevented his seeing the errors in his own judgment or in that of others and which completely obscured his recognition of human limitations. By the time of the New Harmony venture he failed to apply any fragment of the logic which had guided his early undertakings toward the possible realization of his later dreams. The result was a disaster which made social reform an ob-



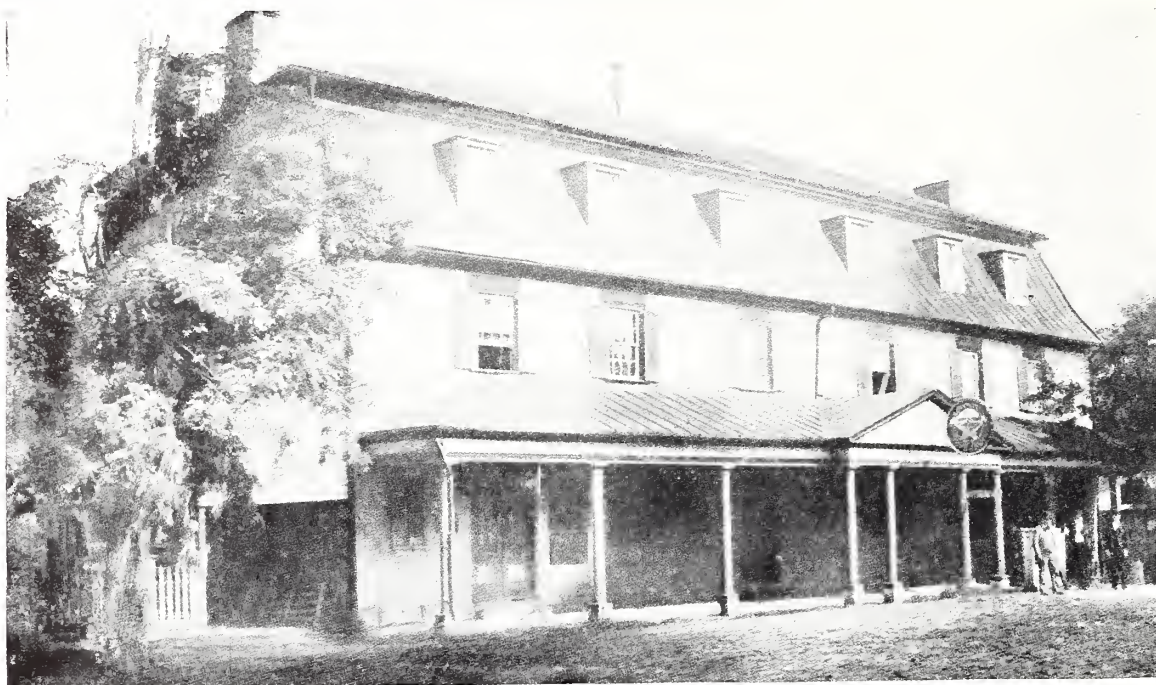
FREE THINKING ROBERT OWEN was frequently attacked by clergymen. His offer to debate on the worth of religion was taken up by Alexander Campbell, founder of the Disciples of Christ denomination. The two disputants met at Cincinnati and argued for a week through fifteen sessions. The debate was printed in book form and was widely read, but had little effect on religion in the West. The above picture, from Mrs. Trollope, shows the two debaters, a stenographer, and Campbell's aged father in the pulpit of the Methodist Church. As Mrs. Trollope commented: "All this, I think, could only have happened in America. I am not quite sure that it was very desirable it should have happened anywhere."

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## R. E. BANTA

of Crawfordsville, Indiana, the one-time "Athens of the West," is a book seller and publisher turned author. He compiled *Indiana Authors and Their Books, 1949*, and *The Ohio for the "Rivers of America" Series*. He has long been a student of New Harmony's history.





COMMUNITY HOUSE NO. 2, *New Harmony*.  
*Built by the Rappites about 1820 and later oc-  
 cupied by some of Robert Owen's colonists.*

ject of derision and set back further improvement in labor conditions for decades.

Sordid as the picture became at times, there is reason for examining the history of New Harmony under both Owen and Rapp. They still have their followers—not many years have passed since “resettlement” in Alaska and other places unpromising for the uninitiated; since the N.Y.A., the W.P.A. and those other alphabetical phenomena, forgotten in name if not in the national treasury deficit. Most of those projects were based upon the same ill-digested theories which were generated in the messianic delusion which was George Rapp’s and in Robert Owen’s unhappy childhood, his over-weening confidence following early success—even in as earthy a factor as his bad digestion. There is no reason to doubt that the next period of economic stress will bring a revival of those projects, and at this very present there are in progress throughout this constantly shrinking world experiments—partaking of the untrammelled liberty of Owen in name and the despotism of Rapp in fact—which have a following made up of the benighted and the cloistered intellectual theorists.

So long as Owen’s money lasted his New Harmony followers stayed. They talked, they argued, they quarrelled, they complained, they theorized—but practically none were

willing to work even the short hours which their patron recommended. When financial trouble struck and Owen was unable to get further aid from William Maclure, the Philadelphia capitalist who had undertaken to finance New Harmony’s educational projects, the majority of the Owenites departed and Owen, defeated but already innocently happy in developing a set of new dreams he had formulated to console himself, returned to England.

Emulation of the community on Owen’s free-thinking, restraintless, impractical plan began within a few months of the establishment of the parent. The first ventures were Macluria and Feiba Peveli (the latter died before, probably, many of its neighbors had mastered the pronunciation of its numerological name) and Blue Spring, Nashoba, Yellow Springs, Cocksackie, Brook Farm and others followed through the years. All were more or less directly inspired by Owen’s theories and all fell victim to a certain doom after a few weeks or few months. There was an eventual flowering of Indiana’s New Harmony—but it occurred not because of any principles of brotherhood of man, cooperative living or community of property but because some of the more level-headed of the intellectuals recognized the beauty of the place and the obvious advantages of carrying on their study and research and rearing their families where a com-



fortable living was very, very, easy to achieve. That flowering of New Harmony, when it finally came about, was something glorious to see—but it flowered as a tight little community of the most extreme individualists!

After the exodus of the most vicious and most inept of the Owenites, William Maclure's experiments began in earnest. There is no accounting for Maclure's character by the circumstances of his early environment for very little is known of his beginnings, but he acquired means in a phenomenally successful career as a merchant and he became an enlightened and practical patron of learning in Philadelphia, at New Harmony and (until he ran afoul of religious prejudice) in Spain.

It was Maclure who paid the expenses of Marie D. Fretageot, Thomas Say, Charles Alexander Lesueur and Gerard Troost while they taught in his post-Owenite schools, staffed his ventures in free libraries and adult education, printed their works and his and attracted some of the world's best scientists to the West. Maclure's people, with Robert Owen's three sons who stayed in Indiana to salvage what they could of the Owen investments while working out their own distinguished careers, made New Harmony a center of learning which had a tremendous influence upon the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys until the middle of the nineteenth century.

Robert Owen, quoted in and out of context, has become something of a minor prophet to the starry-eyed of this generation while the practical contributions of his own sons have been more or less ignored. Nevertheless Robert Dale, David Dale and Richard Owen, inspired far more by the thinking of the Maclurians than by that of their father, profoundly influenced the introduction of the teaching and practical application of geology, biology, psychology and produced creditable contemporary literature in this country. In their spare time they severally promoted women's rights, abolition, the improvement of the American theatre, efficient mining, public hygiene, prison reform, scientific agriculture, transportation, free education, public charity and conservation of resources—all on a national and significant scale. Individually Robert Dale and David Dale Owen were largely responsible for the creation of the Smithsonian Institution and the organization of the United States Geological Survey.

Quite a bit of material evidence of the Rappite origin of New Harmony is still in evidence; dozens of Rappite buildings are occupied today. Frame houses for one and two families abound, their walnut frames, poplar siding, ash and hickory pins still sound, and the clay and straw biscuits with which they were insulated as efficient as they were when Father Rapp sold out to Robert Owen a century and a quarter ago. Brick buildings are plentiful and handsome—including the Rappites' granary and block-house, the only fort structure remaining within a radius of four or five



ROSE DOORWAY was designed by Frederick Rapp for the brick Rappite church built in 1822. It is now utilized as the west entrance to the New Harmony High School building. Beneath the rose are the words: "Micah 4, V 8" referring to a passage in the Lutheran Bible: "Unto thee shall come the golden rose, the first dominion."

hundred miles. Unusual planting survives in shrubs and trees descended from slips and seeds collected by the town's early scientists. Other mementoes are to be seen in the clothing, furniture, books and papers preserved by a few private families and in the Working Men's Institute (original inspiration of William Maclure), but the spirit of the New Harmonists persists only with difficulty for the town has recently found itself the center of the distracting influence of an oil boom.

Questioning random inhabitants of the village today one may receive either the strangest misinformation upon New Harmony's beginnings or, as in all such communities, a sketch of its past glories violently colored by the original allegiance of the speaker's ancestors—pro-Owen, pro-Maclure, or independent and prejudiced against both. There is a great deal of evidence of attempt at restoration and preservation on an ineffectual scale and at direct cross-purpose with other projects of other groups which are equally ineffectual and equally militant. But the town has something which only that overworked term "charm," in its preteashoppe meaning, accurately describes. New Harmony is still one of our most interesting, least-exploited, Midwestern historic sites, well worth a visit at any season.



By GAYLE THORNBROUGH

# TIPPECANOE

THE BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE was not—for all its fame—actually a great battle. In the light of the losses sustained by each side it was certainly not a great victory of the whites over the Indians, and it left the frontier as defenseless as it was before. From the point of view of events that followed it might well be called the curtain raiser of the War of 1812 in the West for it made obvious the fact that a real for sure campaign against the Indians was inevitable.

The name of the battle—perhaps due in part to the tongue-tickling “Tip-pe-canoe” and in part to the striking leaders on both sides—is familiar to all school children. William Henry Harrison, Tecumseh, and his brother, the famous Shawnee Prophet, dominated the scene. The appearance of the battle in song and story, its role in the political campaign of 1836 and again in the “Tippecanoe and Tyler, too,” campaign of 1840, have all helped to enhance its place in our history and build up a volume of folklore about it.

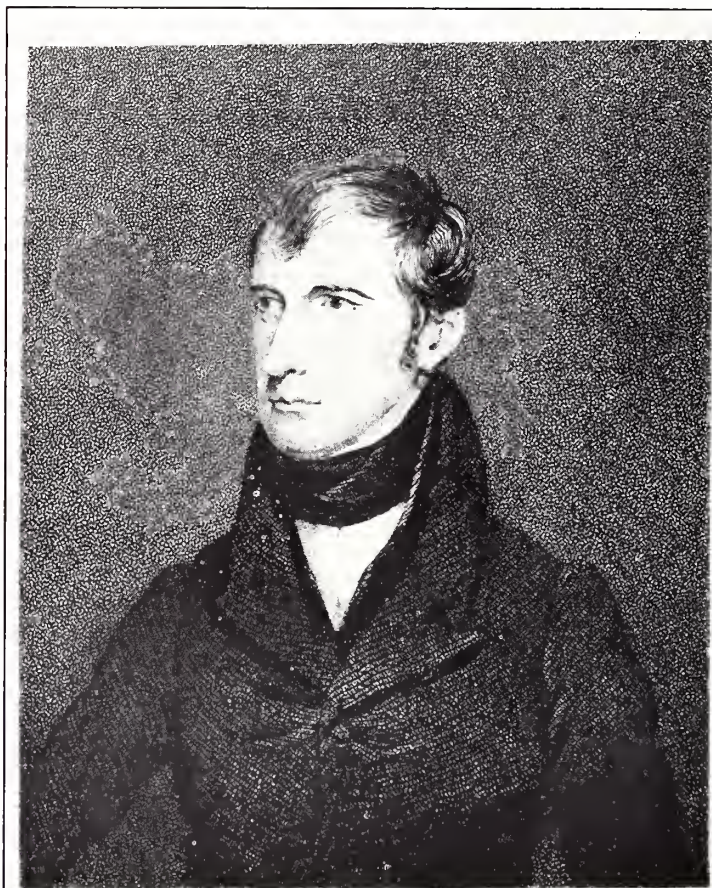
The Battle of Tippecanoe was the first important conflict between Indians and whites in the Old Northwest after the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794. The Treaty of Greenville in 1795 had inaugurated a period of peace and settlers streamed into the territory. In 1800 the Northwest Territory was divided and Ohio was shortly admitted into the Union. The remaining portion became Indiana Terri-

tory, and young, ambitious William Henry Harrison came out to the new territorial capital at Vincennes as governor.

Tall, slender, active, with strength of mind and strength of body, Harrison was outstanding among all the territorial governors of the Northwest. He was but 27 years old when he received his appointment, but he commanded the respect and won the co-operation of the leading citizens of the territory.

In 1800 all of Indiana Territory remained in Indian possession with the exception of Clark's Grant at the Falls of the Ohio and the Vincennes Tract near the mouth of the Wabash. As governor of the territory Harrison served as ex officio superintendent of Indian affairs. And the Indian problem was paramount. Land hungry settlers refused to confine themselves to the areas freed of Indian title by

treaty and squatted and hunted on the Indian land. In trying to work out a solution to the Indian problem and at the same time satisfy the settlers' demand for land, the Federal government inevitably ran into conflicts. On the one hand it aimed at peaceful and friendly relations with the tribes and on the other it strove to win large cessions of their lands. Harrison found himself caught in the meshes of this conflicting policy. He had a real compassion for the red men, yet he was determined to get land for the settlers. He worked to regulate the sale of intoxicating liquor to the Indians, to secure for



Engraved by T.B. Welch from the Original Portrait by T. Peale

W. H. HARRISON.



them just treatment before the law, and to improve the system of Indian trade. On the other hand, by treaties made during his twelve years as governor, all of southern Indiana and Illinois was ceded by the Indians to the United States.

The Battle of Tippecanoe was a sequel to the conclusion of a series of treaties Harrison made with the Indians by which all this vast territory was purchased. As early as 1806 Harrison became aware that an organized resistance to white advancement into the Indian country was in the making. Its leaders were the Shawnee brothers, Tecumseh and Elkswatawa or "The Prophet." Doubtless they were not without some British direction. Tecumseh was a realist and a politician. His father had been treacherously murdered by white men and he had grown up with a bitter hatred of all Americans that mounted higher and higher as the settlers moved farther west. He was a handsome chief, tall, with deep-set hazel eyes and an aquiline nose. The Prophet, one-eyed and eerie to behold, was a combined medicine man and messiah. Moved by a religious fanaticism, he exhorted the Indians to return to their "Golden Age," the period before the arrival of the Americans. The aim of these two brothers was a united resistance of all the tribes of the region—Shawnee, Miami, Potawatomi, Delaware, Wea, Winnebago, Kickapoo—to any further encroachment. Their immediate object was the restoration of the Indian-white boundaries as they were drawn after the Treaty of Greenville in 1795.

In 1807 raids on white settlements, the results of The Prophet's words, were made. Settlers were murdered and horses stolen. The following year the Prophet withdrew to the Tippecanoe River to the site of an old Indian town that was henceforth known as Prophet's Town, situated about seven miles northeast of the present city of Lafayette. Encouraged by this withdrawal and The Prophet's strong denial of any plot to attack the settlements, Harrison proceeded with his treaty making and demands for further cessions and finally concluded the treaties of Fort Wayne with the various tribes in September and October, 1809. By these the governor purchased from the Indians roughly 3,000,000 acres of rich lands of the Wabash and White river valleys. This cession was too much for the Shawnee brothers. Tecumseh explained it thus to Joseph Barron, half-breed envoy of Governor Harrison: "The Great Spirit said he gave this great island to his red children. He placed the whites on the other side of the big water, they were not contented with their own. . . . They have driven us from the sea to the lakes, we can go no farther."

Tecumseh and The Prophet were determined that the new cessions would never be surveyed. Actual warfare threatened in the spring of 1810. It was rumored that The Prophet's visions foretold of a general massacre at Vincennes and the storming of Fort Wayne, Fort Dearborn at Chicago, and then St. Louis. Then the rumors subsided.

But occasional raids on the settlements, murders, horse stealing kept the settlers uneasy.

In the summer of 1810 Tecumseh paid a call on Harrison. He announced that he and the confederated tribes would oppose any further cessions of land and that the treaties made at Fort Wayne were signed by "village chiefs" who had no authority to sell the Indians' land and demanded that Harrison return the cessions to the tribes. It was a dramatic and colorful meeting. When Harrison replied to Tecumseh's speech, the Indian lost patience, shouted that he lied, and withdrew. He apologized next day, but insisted that he would never submit to the relinquishment of the lands purchased at Fort Wayne.



*Traditional picture of TECUMSEH, Shawnee chief, who tried to unite the middle western tribes against further land cessions to the whites. The premature battle at Tippecanoe, the Shawnee village, precipitated by his brother, The Prophet, disrupted his plans. He sided with the British in the War of 1812 and was killed at the Battle of the Thames, Ontario, in 1813.*



*Miss Gayle Thornbrough, a Butler University graduate with a master's degree from the University of Michigan, devotes herself to Indiana history as editor for the Indiana Historical Society. The notable series of publications of that Society reveal her deft hand and clear judgment.*



In July and August, 1811, Tecumseh was again at Vincennes. He announced that he was going south for a few months—probably to round up other tribes for the Indian confederacy—and hoped that nothing would happen during his absence to alter the existing state of affairs. Tecumseh had brought with him between two hundred and fifty and three hundred warriors. The village of Vincennes was in a state of alarm all the time he was there. Governor Harrison ordered out the militia to give a show of strength and kept constant guard around the town and on the Indian encampment.

Tecumseh departed in peace, but Harrison felt for the peace of mind of the settlers some positive move against the obvious hostility of the savages was called for. With his approval the citizens of Vincennes drew up a series of

Indian boundary and if satisfaction to his demands had not been given, he would attack Prophet's Town.

The general plan received the approval of the Secretary of War, and Harrison dispatched messengers with his demands to The Prophet and his confederates. On the 5th of November they came within sight of Prophet's town.

No official messenger from The Prophet had appeared. Harrison was bound by his agreement with the Secretary of War not to open a fight unless his demands were refused. The time had come for a definite acquiescence by the Shawnee or for an attack. He sent forward Major Toussaint Dubois, captain of the spies and guards, to request an interview. Unfriendly, if not openly hostile movements by several Indians alarmed Harrison and he recalled Dubois. Chief White Horse then presented himself to Harrison. He expressed The Prophet's surprise and alarm that the army had advanced so close to the villages and reported that The Prophet had sent a reply to Harrison's demands by some Miami, who had apparently gone down the east side of the Wabash and missed the army. These messengers were never heard from.

Harrison was urged by certain of his officers to storm the town immediately, but he hesitated, mindful of his agreement with the Secretary of War. He resolved to encamp that night and see what the following day would bring forth.

As the army advanced seeking a suitable campsite, fifty or sixty Indians suddenly sallied out and Chief White Horse again appeared. "I informed him," wrote Harrison to the Secretary of War, "that my object, for the present, was to procure a good piece of ground to encamp on, where we could get wood and water. He informed me that there was a creek to the northwest, which, he thought, would suit our purposes. I immediately dispatched two officers [Major Marston G. Clark and Major Waller Taylor] to examine it; and they reported that the situation was excellent. . . .

"I found the ground destined for the encampment not altogether such as I could wish it. It was, indeed, admirably calculated for the encampment of regular troops that were opposed to regulars; but it afforded great facility to the approach of savages."

Harrison's own description of the campsite and how it was chosen has been given here because some criticism arose against him for exposing his men to easy attack. He was admittedly uneasy and wary, and ordered the army to encamp in order of battle. The men were instructed to sleep with their clothes on, armed, and with bayonets fixed. Sentinels were stationed and the camp settled down for the night.

The hours passed without any disturbance and about four o'clock, two hours before dawn, Harrison rose and was on the verge of ordering the men to rise and continue under arms until full daylight. Suddenly a single shot from the sentinel on the left wing rang out. This was immedi-



TIPPECANOE Battlefield today, a state memorial. Through the trees can be seen the base of the monument, and beyond it the graves of some of the soldiers killed on the spot.

resolutions declaring that their homes would never be safe so long as the combination of forces under the Shawnee Prophet continued, and sent them to Washington.

Harrison had already decided that a wise move on the part of the Americans would be to force the abandonment of Prophet's Town, headquarters of the confederacy, though it lay well within the Indian country. He outlined his plans to the Secretary of War: ". . . to call all the Tribes, in the most peremptory terms to deliver up such of their people as may have been concerned in murdering our citizens. To require them also to fulfill that article of the Treaty of Greenville which obliges them to give information and to stop any parties passing through their districts with hostile intentions, and that all such as are marching to join the Prophet are considered as of that description. To require them also to cause such of their people as may have joined the Prophet immediately to return to their respective tribes. . . ." Meanwhile, he would move with an army up the Wabash to the



ately followed by the harsh cries of attacking Indians. The startled sentinels fled to the camp, leaving the left flank exposed. The men awakened and jumped to arms, but the savages had already gotten as far as the first tent. The two companies on the left suffered severely before help could be brought to them. But they offered enough resistance to allow the other companies a few moments to compose themselves before the enemy was upon them. Camp fires were extinguished to help prevent the Indians picking out the victims in their light. The savages had blackened their faces and could hardly be seen. Their wild yells rang out.

Nine tenths of the whole troop had never been under fire and Harrison praised the bravery and fortitude of the whole army. He himself mounted and rode fearlessly into the battle to direct reinforcements here, an attack there, and give a word of encouragement some place else. Fortunately for him his gray horse had become frightened at the first shots and he was mounted on Waller Taylor's black one. The Indians had been ordered to make for the commander on a gray mare. Harrison rode fearlessly. A bullet struck his hat, another his horse, and one grazed the side of his head.

A particularly bloody attack was launched against Captain Spier Spencer's militia company. As Harrison was approaching his line, Spencer was shouting "Close up, men! Steady! Hold the line!" A bullet struck him in the head. He continued shouting. A second, a third bullet hit his legs. As his men raised him up, a fourth finished him off. Harrison approached young John Tipton, an ensign in the company. "Where's your captain?" "Dead, sir." "Your first lieutenant?" "Dead, sir." "Your second lieutenant?" "Dead, sir." "Your ensign." "Here, sir," Tipton replied calmly as he aimed his gun at an enemy. Harrison galloped off to bring up another company. He then came upon young Thomas Randolph, lately come out from Virginia at Harrison's suggestion to seek a political career in the territory. He was mortally wounded, and Harrison could only ask him what his last wishes were and promise to look after his only child.

The veteran Major Daveiss, ordered to clear out a nest of savages hid in a clump of trees and firing heavily on the left flank, sped forward, but without sufficient force, and was shot and fell. Soon after the start of the battle the line of fire extended up and down both the right and left flank and across part of the rear guard. The enemy fire on the rear was particularly strong. Harrison ordered reinforcements and called on the men to hold the lines, striving to keep the savages out of the camp until the daylight should come. As day broke Harrison rallied the lines and ordered a charge. The Indians, with awful yells and shrieks, were driven back by bayonet push and forced into the marshes by infantry charge. Gathering up their dead and wounded as best they could the savages fled to the village. The battle had raged for two hours and Harrison's army held the field.

Tears for the dead and wounded comrades mingled with the shouts of joy and prayers of thanksgiving. The troops rallied around their commander-in-chief, singing congratulations for his victory and praise for his bravery. But the casualties remained to be counted. Twenty-seven dead, 151 wounded, 2 missing were the first reports. Fourteen died within the next two days, 15 more before the army reached Vincennes. Of the savages, 36 bodies were found on the field and several others were later discovered. The proportion of Indians killed to the number engaged (estimated between 560 and 700) was greater than Harrison ever remembered in any Indian battle. To the Indians it was a bitter defeat. They bewailed their failure to get scalps and to bring back white prisoners for their squaws.

And what of the Prophet? Back in his town he sat in de-



MARKER is all that remains of Fort Harrison, built near modern Terre Haute in 1811 by General Harrison on his way to Tippecanoe. Here another future president, Capt. Zachary Taylor was besieged by Indians in 1812.

spair. No longer was he a Prophet to his people. Only the night before he had brewed a potent decoction and declared that by some special enchantment he had caused half the white army to die already and that the other half was in a bewildered state of distraction. He added that he had rendered the bullets of the white army so soft that they could not enter the body of an Indian. Now he was in disgrace. He was bound hand and foot and carried out of his town to Wild Cat Creek, twenty miles away.

On the morning of the 8th of November Harrison had the town reconnoitred. It was completely deserted. The storehouses were ransacked by the army and the village fired. Prophet's Town was no more. On the 9th the army began its painful and slow return to Vincennes. Supplies were low. The wounded suffered horribly. Deaths were reported every day. But on November 18 the army finally regained their home base at Vincennes.





*Indiana's motto is "The Crossroads of America." Here is Monument Circle, the center of Indianapolis, which is approximately in the center of the state. The "ruins" in the upper left corner show the razing of the famous old English Hotel and Theater to make way for a new business block.*

(PHOTO FROM INDIANAPOLIS STAR)





INDIANAPOLIS IN 1854

# INDIANAPOLIS

*"No Mean City" but a planned one*

By JEANETTE C. NOLAN

AUTHOR OF *Indianapolis: Hoosier City*

IN 1897, in a public utterance, Benjamin Harrison referred to Indianapolis as "no mean city," thus coining a stubbornly persistent epithet which even at the time must have impressed many hearers as a classic example of understatement, and which to successive generations of residents has seemed incredibly remote from both exactitude and what might be called our Hoosier character.

Of course, Benjamin Harrison was aging then. Full of years and honors, he approached the benign twilight of a career notable for its sound and sober conservatism. In 1897, he was that well-nigh unique and certainly anomalous human being, an Ex-President, with all the rights and privileges thereto appertaining. And he had never been a man extravagant with language.

But—"No mean city?"

The fierce loyalty inflaming Hoosier breasts rejects it! Modesty is a virtue, false modesty a different and less charming thing. As present-day citizens of Indianapolis, often regarding with pride Mr. Harrison's statue in University Park, we hesitate to reproach in any way his memory—and,

indeed, we wouldn't dare, for, after all, our state has so far sent no other man to occupy the White House! Still, we find it in our hearts to wish that he had been more impulsive with his adjectives, that for once he had been shaken out of a customary monumental calm, into enthusiasm.

In short, and simply, we just wish that Mr. Harrison hadn't said it!

For to the approximate half-million people now living here, of whom an approximate 95 percent are native-born Indianans, ours is a fine and spacious city, with a history of orderly purpose from the very beginning. In our thoughtful moments we like to remind ourselves of this, the slight part which casual circumstance has played in the city's establishment and subsequent growth. Most state capitals are of accidental origin; they have happened, merely. By contrast, a definite idea of what Indiana's capital should be, and must be, had formed and crystallized in the imagination of one visionary, strong-willed man even before the state was admitted to the Union.

The man was Jonathan Jennings—young, colorful,





WASHINGTON STREET (the old National Road) in Indianapolis in the 1870's

dynamic, in 1809 elected as Indiana Territory's first delegate to Congress, in 1816 elected first governor of the new state. Some few villages existed then in Indiana, a fringe of civilization along the Wabash and the Ohio rivers; and a Gallup poll would doubtless have indicated one such settlement as the logical choice for a capital city. But Governor Jennings demurred.

In his travels, campaigning, acquainting himself with his constituency, he had visited the small group of hunters and homesteaders who were "squatting" at the junction of White River with Fall Creek. This, Jennings said, was the place for Indiana's capital. True, it was isolated, immured in miles of virgin forest; but such conditions were temporary and relatively unimportant—time would remedy them. The White River settlement was almost precisely in the center of the state; it measured a nearly equal distance from boundaries north, south, east and west—a salient fact which, for political reasons, for economic reasons, for reasons of travel, communication and plain common sense, must bear tremendous influence. Moreover, a dozen stout cabins already stood there, with chimneys curling smoke against the sky.

Indiana's first legislature had appointed ten commissioners to decide upon the site for a state capital. The ten men, duly sworn, sat down together and solemnly studied maps. Governor Jennings, meeting with them *ex officio*, ex-

pressed a hope that they would look carefully into his idea—and he intended that they should do so.

In the spring of 1820, he led the commissioners on a personally conducted tour of the White River region, pointing out its obvious advantages. Early in June a decision was made in favor of the mouth of Fall Creek, the site defined, quite in accord with the governor's preference—and peaceably.

Not until later, when the commissioners tendered their report to the legislature, was it realized that the site was unnamed, and no name had been specified for this fabulous city which had yet to arise in the wilderness. Tranquility then suffered an immediate eclipse. Argument was precipitated, a stormy session ensued as various names were suggested and shouted down, either with amusement or angry scorn.

"Tecumseh?" "Suwarro?" Something Indian? At least, something euphonious, with a pleasant, flowing cadence!

Judge Jeremiah Sullivan rose to address the august body. He had been suddenly inspired: "Gentlemen, I propose *Indianapolis*."

That gave the weary legislators pause! In shocked silence, they received Judge Sullivan's proposal; then, recovering their voices, they burst into furious challenge.

What kind of word was *Indianapolis*, for heaven's sake? Where had it spawned, from whence been unearthed?

Judge Sullivan explained, with dignity: "A compound word, 'Indiana' for our state; 'polis,' Greek suffix for city."

The legislators protested stridently. But Judge Sullivan had a big voice, too,—and in addition the governor's endorsement. "Indianapolis," Judge Sullivan said firmly. "Repeat it twice and you're used to it. Repeat it a dozen times and you get right fond of it."

So the capital city was to be known as Indianapolis; and all that Hoosiers had to do was to get right fond of the hybrid monicker—which they did, with a minimum of delay and a talent for adaptability ever since, and increasingly, manifested.

That same legislature appointed a second commission, three men to lay off the town, to make plats and charts, and to advertise and hold a sale of lots as soon as should be practicable. Of the three thus charged, only Christopher Harrison seemed inclined to assume the responsibility.

Christopher was no forebear of Benjamin's or any of the Indiana Harrisons, but he had his own distinctions. Maryland was his birthplace, he was excellently educated—and deeply tinged with romance, international romance at that, for he had reputedly loved and been jilted by Elizabeth Patterson, the beautiful belle of Baltimore. Jerome Bonaparte, brother of the Emperor Napoleon, was also a suitor of Miss Patterson's, and the one she married. This triumph of his royal rival for the lady's affections sent Harrison tramping out of Maryland, westward to the Ohio River, never to return.

In the backwoods environs to which he had fled, Harrison became a familiar figure, highly esteemed by his neighbors. They heard his story, many of them were outspoken in declaring that Elizabeth Patterson, by going further, had fared the worse, for her happiness was short-lived and ill-omened from the start. It was not in Napoleon's scheme that Brother Jerome should marry an American girl, however popular and attractive. Unhesitatingly the Emperor stepped in, had the marriage contract annulled and shipped off Jerome to wed the Princess Catherine of Württemberg and to be crowned King of Westphalia.

Surely, said Hoosier folk, Elizabeth must have seen then that she had taken her ducks to a poor market; probably she thought with regret of Christopher Harrison, the earnest, chivalrous young gentleman she had so ruthlessly discarded. But by that time it was too late.



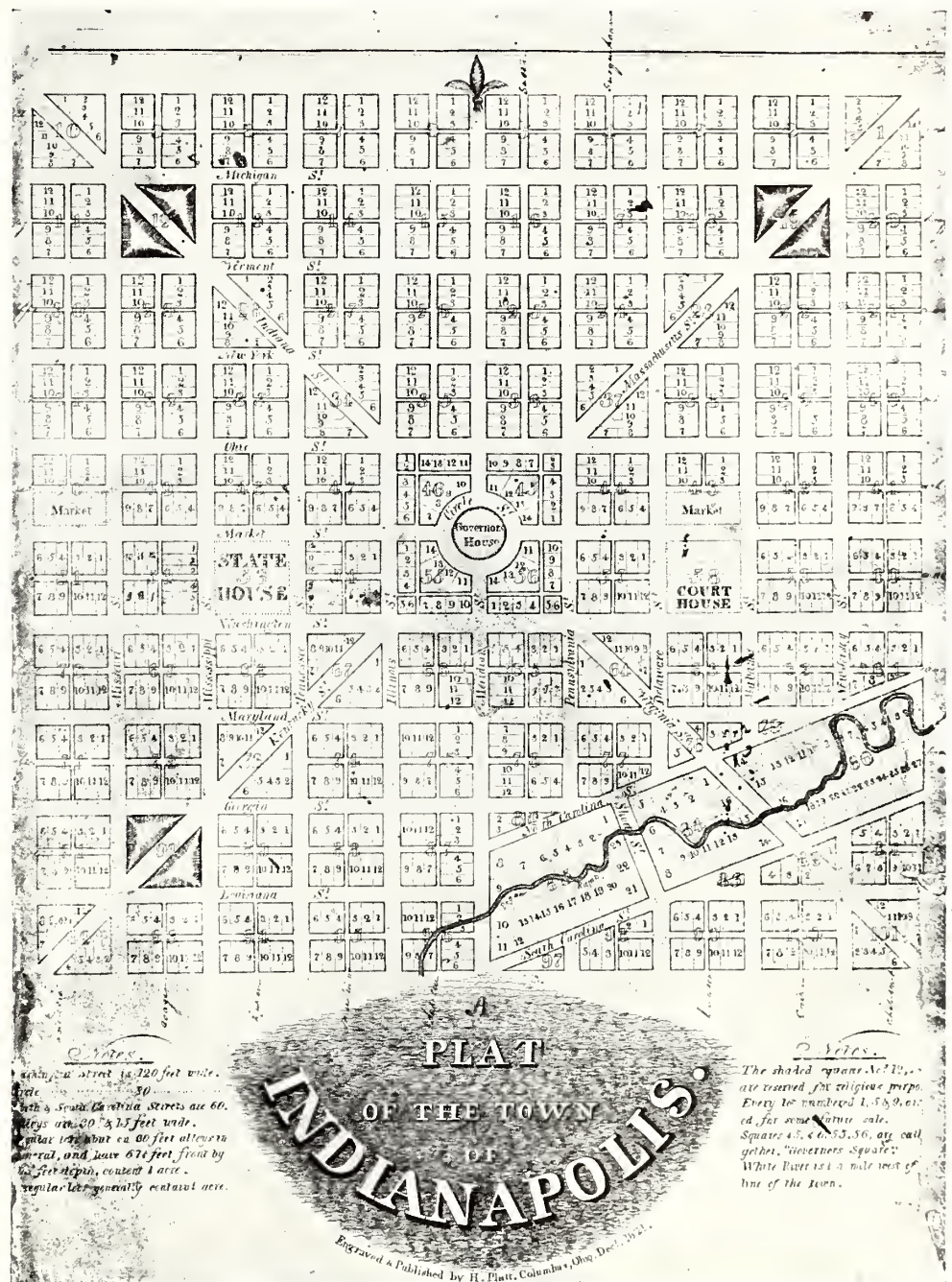
Harrison had resigned himself to his loss; out in Indiana, he was acquiring staunch friends and admirers—and preparing to manage efficiently the building of a state capital.

Harrison had a nice appreciation of ability; he associated with him only first-rate men. His surveyors were Elias Pym Fordham and Alexander Ralston. Fordham, an Englishman, had been a pupil of George Stephenson, the engineer, who just then had perfected the invention of a steam-driven locomotive. Ralston's past was even more interesting and dramatic. Born, reared and schooled in Scotland, Alexander Ralston had come to America to assist Major Pierre L'Enfant in the surveying of Washington, the nation's capital, where by some odd caprice of fate he fell in with Aaron Burr and was employed to survey Burr's vast tract of land in Louisiana.

Ralston was never involved in Burr's obscure machinations. He was quite guiltless, and everyone knew it. But when the bubble of the conspiracy burst, the sinister shadow of disgrace touched and changed him; he sought retreat in the western country. At fifty, and facing the task of planning Indianapolis, he was a slender, diffident man, quaint-mannered, fastidious, with silky white hair long on his shoulders, a shyly appealing, child-like smile—and standards of integrity which nothing could have persuaded him to lower.

It is to Ralston that our modern city is indebted for wide, straight streets and a central pattern resembling, in modified version, the famous wheel-and-spoke design of Washington, D. C. Undismayed by obstacles which lesser men might have thought insurmountable, he built for the future. And: "If ever half this survey be improved," he said, "what a beautiful town it will make!"

Statistics (for any reader who fancies them) will show that the faith and genius of such brave spirits as Jonathan Jennings, Christopher Harrison, Alexander Ralston (and, yes, Judge Sullivan) have been amply vindicated. In 1840, when the first official census was taken, the population of Indianapolis numbered 2,692; in 1900 it was 169,164; in 1940, it was well above 385,000. The census of 1950 is confidently expected to push the number to the half-million mark, perhaps beyond, for expansion during the turbulent years of World War II was phenomenal, the city is straining at its seams, reaching out to embrace suburban areas in all directions.



INDIANAPOLIS was laid out by Alexander Ralston, an engineer who had assisted Pierre L'Enfant in designing Washington, D. C. The circle, the square, and the diagonals suggest the Frenchman's influence, although the creek spoiled a perfect design.

In general, though, this development has had no fantastic, mushrooming quality, no periods of exaggerated, artificially induced "boom." Rather, the growth has been steady, natural, and wholesome, predicated on causes which will stand up under critical inspection and analysis.

Today, at mid-point of the Twentieth Century, Indianapolis is just what Judge Sullivan prophetically called it: the city

of Indiana, the worthy capital of a great state, substantial, forward-looking, metropolitan in aspect and proportions, thriving with homes, schools, churches, cultural institutions, stores, shops, manufacturing plants, the bustling marts of trade and commerce.

As for what Benjamin Harrison said, back in 1897—well, that could only have been a slip of the tongue.

Excuse it, please.





INDIANA'S BIG FOUR: James Whitcomb Riley, George Ade, Meredith Nicholson, Booth Tarkington

## *What made Hoosiers Write?*

WHEN THAT PERENNIAL CHAUTAUQUA LECTURER, the late Opie Read, first appeared in Fort Wayne, he announced that he was aware of Indiana's literary reputation and therefore if there was an author in the audience would he please stand? Whereupon the audience rose en masse. Mr. Read recovered himself in time to notice one old man still seated and called attention to him as one Hoosier who was *not* an author.

"Oh, no, he writes, too," someone said. "He's just deaf and didn't hear your question."

The story was told by George Ade and others with such variations that it may be a piece of folklore. Indiana's literary productivity is one of those phenomena that is easily exaggerated. Two or three best-selling authors become a dozen; a poet in every county becomes a poet in every town. Investigation, however, has revealed some startling statistics. Books have been a major product in this state.

By Howard H. Peckham

DIRECTOR

*Indiana Historical Bureau*

Writing is all out of proportion to the population.

Wabash College recently has issued a bio-bibliography of Indiana authors. To whittle down the project even to king size, the sponsoring committee set certain limitations. The hundreds of magazine and newspaper contributors were not admitted unless they had also published a book. Writers of textbooks and law books were also omitted, eliminating generations of college professors. The study was further confined to Indiana's first century as a state; consequently anyone whose first book was published after 1916 was left out. Even with this generous sloughing, the committee wound up with more than 950 eligible writers! That means an average of ten new book

authors a year for a hundred consecutive years. Moreover, almost no one was a one-book author. All this in a state whose population had grown to about 2,800,000 in 1916.

Yet it is not simply that so many Hoosiers wrote that gave the state its reputation; it is the indisputable fact that a score of those writers produced one best-seller after another which compelled national attention to Indiana. The librarian of Purdue University examined the authorship of the ten best selling novels each year from 1900 to 1940. By allowing ten points for the number one best-seller, nine points for the second best, and so on down to one point for the tenth book on the annual list, he totaled up a score of 213 points for Indiana authors in this period. That score was exceeded only slightly by New York's 218 points—from a population four times larger! The next ranking states hardly offered competition: Pennsylvania 125 points, Virginia 102, Kentucky 94.



If readers find these comparisons difficult to credit, here are the names of some popular authors claimed by Indiana, both before and after 1900: George Ade, Charles and Mary Beard, Albert J. Beveridge, Claude Bowers, Mary Hartwell Catherwood, Elmer Davis, Lloyd C. Douglas, Theodore Dreiser, Edward and George Eggleston, Martha Finley (of Elsie Dinsmore fame), John Hay, Kin Hubbard, Annie Fellows Johnston (the Little Colonel series), George Barr McCutcheon, Charles Major, William Vaughn Moody, George Jean Nathan, Meredith Nicholson, David Graham Phillips, Ernie Pyle, Gene Stratton Porter, James Whitcomb Riley, Booth Tarkington, and Lew Wallace.

This writing started early in Indiana. The first author is shared with Kentucky. Jesse Lynch Holman was born there, but he migrated to Indiana in 1811 when he was twenty-seven. In the state of his adoption he became a member of the Territorial Legislature and later a state and federal judge, a Baptist minister, and a founder of Franklin College and of the Indiana Historical Society. He died in 1842. The year before he came to Indiana he had had published a novel, *The Prisoners of Niagara*, and later in life he wrote much poetry for Indiana newspapers. From that date the race began. Production increased slowly in the 1830's and 1840's with poets now largely forgotten, essayists writing on religious questions, scientific articles from New Harmony, and first-person "confessions" of criminals and alcoholics. An anonymous novel about Indiana was published in the state in 1845, along with a few other examples of fiction. Not until the late 1850's did Indiana's literary lights attract Eastern attention. Meredith Nicholson believed that Mrs. Julia Dumont, the teacher of the Eggleston boys, was the first to attain this distinction, with her *Life Sketches from Common Paths: A Series of American Tales*, published in New York in 1856. These stories had already appeared in western periodicals; indeed, Mrs. Dumont's first story was published in 1824.

There was a lull in writing during the 1860's, doubtless occasioned by the war. Then in 1871 appeared Eggleston's *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*. He was followed by Lew Wallace and Riley, and the literary bloom was almost an explosion. If there was a Golden Decade, it was the period 1900 to 1910. At that time Riley, Major, Thompson, Tarkington, Ade, Nicholson, Moody, Phillips, McCutcheon, and Mrs. Porter were turning out

one best-seller after another. Indiana's literary reputation was indestructibly established. The furious pace was maintained for another two decades, which was remarkable endurance. If American literature may be said to begin about 1820 (Bryant's *Thanatopsis*, 1817, Irving's *Sketch Book*, 1819, and Cooper's *Spy*, 1821), then it took the East two centuries to "flower." Indiana bloomed within one century after American settlement.

All this literary activity has been noticed before. A contributor to the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* for December 7, 1876, reviewed the library of Indiana authors collected by one Daniel Hough and was impressed to the extent that his commentary filled three columns. Meredith Nicholson devoted a book to his fellow writers in the state in 1900—*The Hoosiers*. Prof. Robert Cordell of Purdue appraised the Indiana writers for the *Saturday Review of Literature* in 1938. But the motives have escaped analysis.

## II

The fact that an unusually large number of people born and educated or long resident in Indiana have turned to writing, and that a respectable percentage have achieved great popularity has to be accepted as truth. But why did they? Why did so many Hoosiers take to their pens? What caused this widespread urge to communicate?

There is no magic answer. It can only be speculation from a few relevant facts. Those must include the geography of the state, the people it attracted, the character and institutions it developed, and the opportunities it provided. Examining the state's history with this inquiry foremost in mind, some suggestive approaches to the answer can be uncovered.

Indiana's boundaries, except for the Ohio River and part of the Wabash, are not natural. Therefore it is not a distinct locality differing suddenly from the adjoining territory of its neighbors. Nevertheless, a distinguished geographer calls the area that constitutes Indiana "one of the most fortunate areas in America." Not in totals, but in proportion to its size and population, it is perhaps the richest of all the states. Most of the state has deep, fertile soil; the climate is favorable to lush crops; natural resources are rich; crops are heavy in yield and dependable; sources of income are diverse; and the location in the United States is advantageous.

Admittedly the pioneers faced a harsh existence, clearing the land, resisting dis-

ease, fighting the Indians on occasion, and establishing a civilization. But such is the geography of Indiana that hard work was almost certain to be rewarded by a comfortable standard of living. Moreover, agricultural work is seasonal, periods of heavy work alternating with periods of light work. Throughout the nineteenth century Indiana was predominantly an agricultural state. Recognition must be given the fact that Hoosiers pursued an occupation and achieved a standard of living that allowed a certain leisure.



JULIA DUMONT, famed teacher of Veray, who had the Eggleston boys as pupils, became Indiana's first short story writer.

It is all very well to talk of literature being born of agony and struggle. But the actual writing is done in peace and quiet, in hours that can be snatched from the toil for existence for the pursuit of an art. As a professor of English assured me, writing is like whittling; it presupposes a certain amount of leisure time on the part of the practitioner. My contention is that the resources of Indiana gave many of its people that time to write. It may also explain the lack of tragic themes in Indiana literature.

Of course, the opportunity is not the performance. Not everyone with leisure turns to writing. Why did Hoosiers? . . . They did, I believe, because they



developed into a highly articulate people. If tragic themes are lacking in Indiana literature, so are "cults of unintelligibility"—the obscure self-expressionists, and the experimental schools and movements. There were no synthetic literary centers like Greenwich Village or Sante Fé. Hoosiers wanted above all to communicate, to be understood by their contemporaries.

Indiana had only 2500 inhabitants in 1800, made up of Frenchmen at Vincennes, frontier veterans of George Rogers Clark's campaign settled on their bonus lands around Clarksville, and a few fur traders and squatters. When Indiana entered the Union at the end of 1816, the population had multiplied to

in volume and surpassed the southern contingent. New Englanders were a relatively small portion, but they often came in groups and influenced particular towns. There were some 11,000 Negroes in the state in 1860. On top of the few French who were already there and who came later were added a number of Germans and Irish. Indiana has been called the first melting pot in the country, and the assertion is true. The foreign element amounted to only 9 per cent in 1860 and then decreased, but Indiana was the first state to receive immigrants from the two different sections of the United States in proportion to their relative numbers.

This mixture of nationalities and sec-

from articulateness. It is said that the first words uttered by Hoosier infants are: "I'm not a candidate for any office, but if nominated I will run, and if elected I will serve." Since lawyers are prone to enter politics, it is significant to recall how much encouragement was given these expressionists. Written into the state constitution of 1851 was the provision that "Every person of good moral character, being a voter, shall be entitled to admission to practice law in all courts of justice." And that remarkable section was not stricken out of the constitution until 1932.

The various religious denominations provided another field for polemics. Catholicism was firmly established here first by the French, a situation duplicated in Michigan and Illinois. It was strengthened by the Irish who came to dig the canals in the 1830's and by many of the Germans who came after 1848. The Baptists organized first among the Protestants, but were soon followed by the Methodists and Presbyterians. The Quakers formed an influential minority. After the revival of the Second Great Awakening, the followers of Alexander Campbell won many adherents, and the Church of Christ's Disciples eventually became the second largest denomination. The Protestant Germans were mainly Lutherans, but they also introduced the United Brethren, Dunkers, and Mennonites. Yet all of these people were able to make the kind of life each enjoyed—the Southern aristocrat in the river towns, the Ohio farmer, the Pennsylvania trader, the foreign laborer, the faithful Catholic, the foot-washing Baptist, the simple Quaker. Indiana was rich enough to provide a good living for all and eliminate a jealous competition for security.

The Hoosiers' intellectual achievements were uneven and unorthodox. Free public schools were shamefully lacking. Although the Constitution of 1816 called for "a general system of education, ascending in regular graduation, from township schools to a state university," the people allowed the latter to be established but sturdily resisted taxation for local schools. The Supreme Court supported them. A few families hired tutors in the Southern tradition; a few private schools. Denominational col-  
individuals and churches conducted leges were opened until the educational system was top heavy and the colleges had to provide their students first with a high school education. In 1840 Indiana stood sixteenth among the 26 states in the illiteracy of adults, surpassed by



*This cabin in the Limberlost region of northern Indiana was the setting for several of the popular novels, as well as the home of Gene Stratton Porter.*

about 75,000. By 1820 it had doubled again.

In 1860 the total population numbered 1,350,000, and Indiana ranked sixth among the thirty-three states. Over 57 per cent of the people were already true Hoosier, having been born in Indiana itself, compared to 20 per cent in 1840.

The Ohio River was the great highway of entrance to the state, and it was natural that the southern part of the state should fill up first. Settlers pushed up the river valleys and northwestward across the state. Southern states had supplied a large portion of Indiana's first immigrants and continued to pour them in. Indeed, Indiana became the home of more Southerners than any state north of the Ohio. The wave from Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York started a little later, after the Erie Canal and the National Road were opened, but grew rapidly

tions was successfully amalgamated into a Hoosier type, but the process made lively politics. The Southerners brought with them a Democratic political tradition, a satisfaction with private education, and a leisurely attitude that found time for great hospitality, social gatherings, endless conversation, and reading. It is not correct to assume that they were pro-slavery. In fact most of them moved to Indiana because they were not in sympathy with slavery. A strong contingent of Quakers from North Carolina came for that reason. The central states of Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York, with their admixture of New England forebears, plus the sprinkling of New Englanders who came directly to Indiana, carried the Whig banner, an interest in public schools and cultural pursuits, and an energetic distrust of leisure.

The politics bear some relation to the literature, because both activities stem



every northern state and by three southern states. The population was over 14 per cent illiterate. When the question of whether to raise taxes for free schools was referred to the voters in 1848, the proponents of free schools won a narrow victory. But it was a victory delayed by the drafting of a new state constitution in 1850. By this date Indiana ranked twenty-fifth among the 31 states in illiteracy. The first General Assembly under the new constitution enacted a public school law, only to have it vitiated by adverse Supreme Court decisions. Appropriation of local taxes for tuition was forbidden. Not until 1885 did the Supreme Court reverse itself.

The absence of an adequate free school system had three interesting effects. Folklore, largely brought in by Southerners, was preserved, embroidered, and disseminated. Even today Indiana is recognized as having a larger body of folklore, collected and uncollected, than any other Midwestern state, with the possible exception of Illinois. The existence of the Hoosier Folklore Society, with its quarterly magazine, is one attestation. Moreover, Indiana is the home of the "tall story." There was a recognized "liar's bench" in many towns, and the leading story teller was admired for his talent rather than derided for his wanderings from the truth. Story telling was a recognized form of social intercourse and entertainment. The best story tellers collected loyal audiences and elevated loafing to a fine art. That is, men were wont to spend their free evenings or free hours during the day "loafing" at a hospitable shop. There was no social stigma attached to this inert use of leisure unless, of course, one never worked at all. The men traded news and they gossiped, but they also told stories simply for the sake of telling a good story. The practice has disappeared fast since the introduction of the automobile, the movie, and the radio, but it is by no means extinct. The earlier Hoosiers sharpened their imaginations by perpetuating and enlarging a great corpus of folklore.

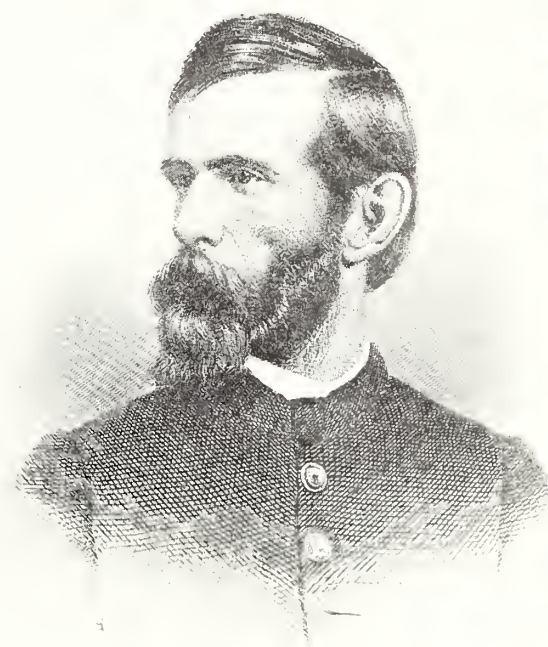
The second effect was on the language. Archaisms of speech were retained and colloquialisms developed because there was no leveling and refining process provided by the standardized public school. Peculiarities of usage and pronunciation remained to enrich and vivify the Hoosier speech. It is this speech that Riley appropriated and reported. As Professor Cordell has pointed out, Riley was not a dialect poet because there was no real dialect in use in Indiana; rather he

utilized "the uneducated Hoosier's bad grammar," as found in the central part of the state, it should be added. Eggleston collected and reported Hoosier usage of a generation earlier. Left to his own resources for descriptions and comparisons, the Hoosier coined some apt and striking metaphors. He was a sharp observer. He seemed to have what Aristotle called "an eye for resemblances," which is the very essence of expression. The close relation of a rich language in Elizabethan England to the wealth of Elizabethan literature has been established, and Dr. I. A. Richards of Harvard University emphasizes that the skilled use of metaphor in that age is a "fact which made Shakespeare possible." Some Indiana farmers today retain an original and graphic way of expressing comparisons.

The third effect of the paucity of schools was a hunger for knowledge that sought satisfaction through libraries and cultural or literary clubs. Vevay was founded in 1814 by a Swiss group who believed they could cultivate grapevines there. Three years later Andrew Miller found 84 dwellings, 34 shops, 8 stores, 3 taverns, a court house, jail, church, market house, and school; "two lawyers, two physicians, a printing office, a library of 300 volumes, and a literary society in which are several persons of genius and literature." Governor William Henry Harrison was one of the founders of the Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society in 1808. Vincennes also boasted a Thespian Society that gave plays from 1806 to about 1830. Frances Wright founded the Female Social Society at New Harmony in 1825. The Edgeworthalean Society at Bloomington was a women's literary club founded in 1841. Another was the Clionian Society of Vernon, organized in 1858. The oldest women's club still to survive in Indiana is The Minerva of New Harmony, founded by Robert Owen's granddaughter in 1859. All of these organizations were forums where members were obliged to offer papers.

The Constitution of 1816 provided for county public libraries, to be supported by ten per cent of the proceeds from the sale of town lots in the county seat. Libraries were opened in a majority of the counties, but they were poorly provided for. Semi-private libraries organized by individuals flourished better. One was started in Vincennes in 1807, another in New Harmony in 1825. William Maclure was instrumental in forming the Workingmen's Institute and Library at New Har-

mony in 1838. Upon his death in 1840, he left \$150,000 for the establishment of workingmen's libraries in other towns. At least fifteen towns availed themselves of the bequest. Then in 1852 the General Assembly provided for township school libraries, with books purchased from a state tax. There were certain limitations that prevented every township from obtaining this grant, but over



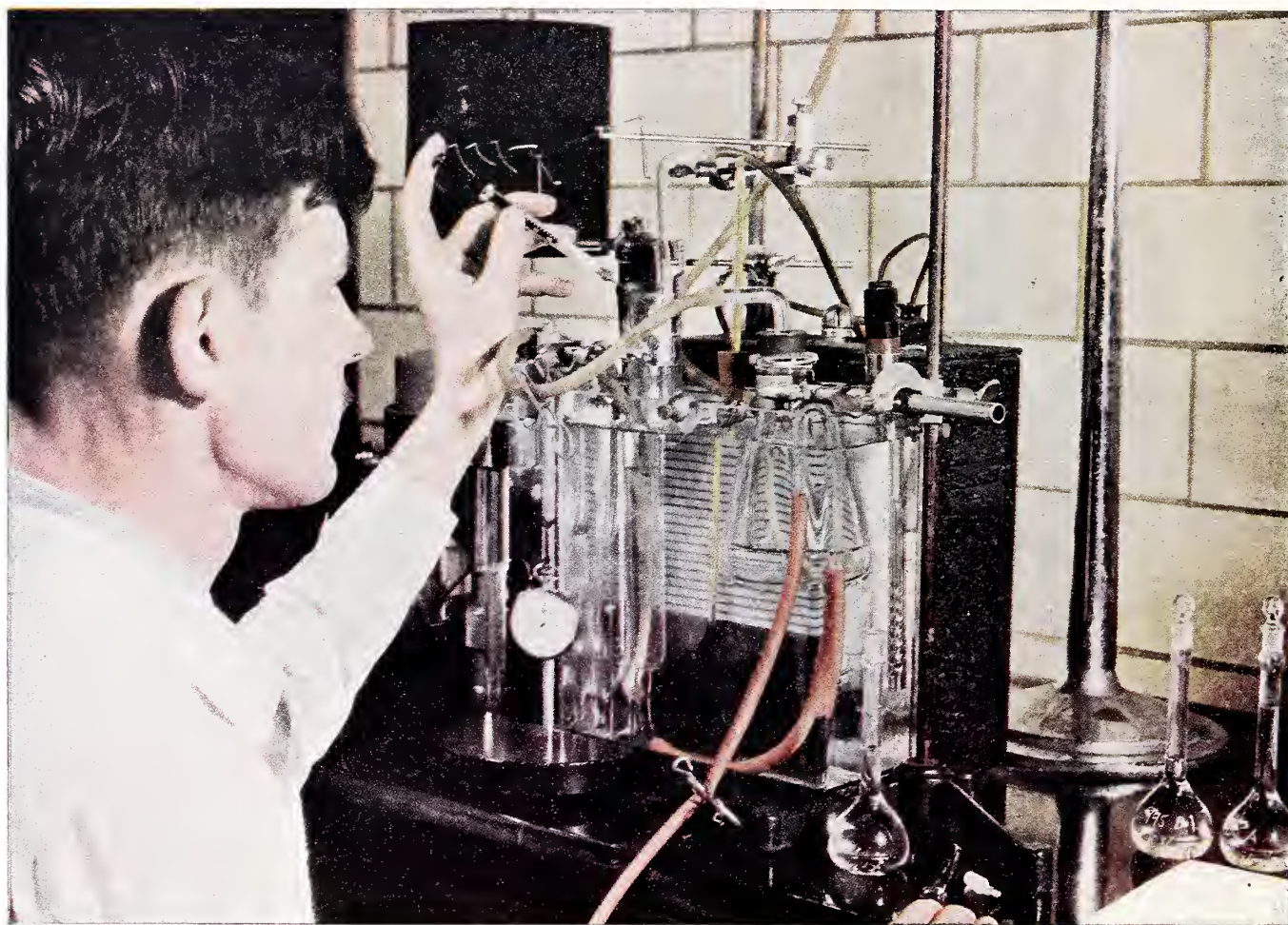
*Lew Wallace, lawyer, general, state senator, artist, territorial governor, author.*

two-thirds of the state's 938 townships secured libraries. Books were selected by the state, and the first distribution sent an average of 321 volumes to each library. Each year new volumes were added. With the levy of 1855 the tax for libraries ceased for ten years, and the institutions declined. Nevertheless, a respectable beginning had been made and the books were widely read; in some townships circulation ran six to ten times the total number of volumes. Their effect on the generation that matured in the next decade must have been considerable. Tom Marshall, Hoosier vice-president under Woodrow Wilson, attributed the literary fecundity of the state more to these libraries than to any other single cause.

By the time of the Civil War a Hoosier

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 59)





*Ergonovine, one of the alkaloids of ergot, is standardized on the isolated rabbit uterus. A special constant temperature bath, shown above, is used for this test.*

*Preparation of materials for culture media to be used in testing for various growth factors, such as vitamins, by means of various micro-organisms.*

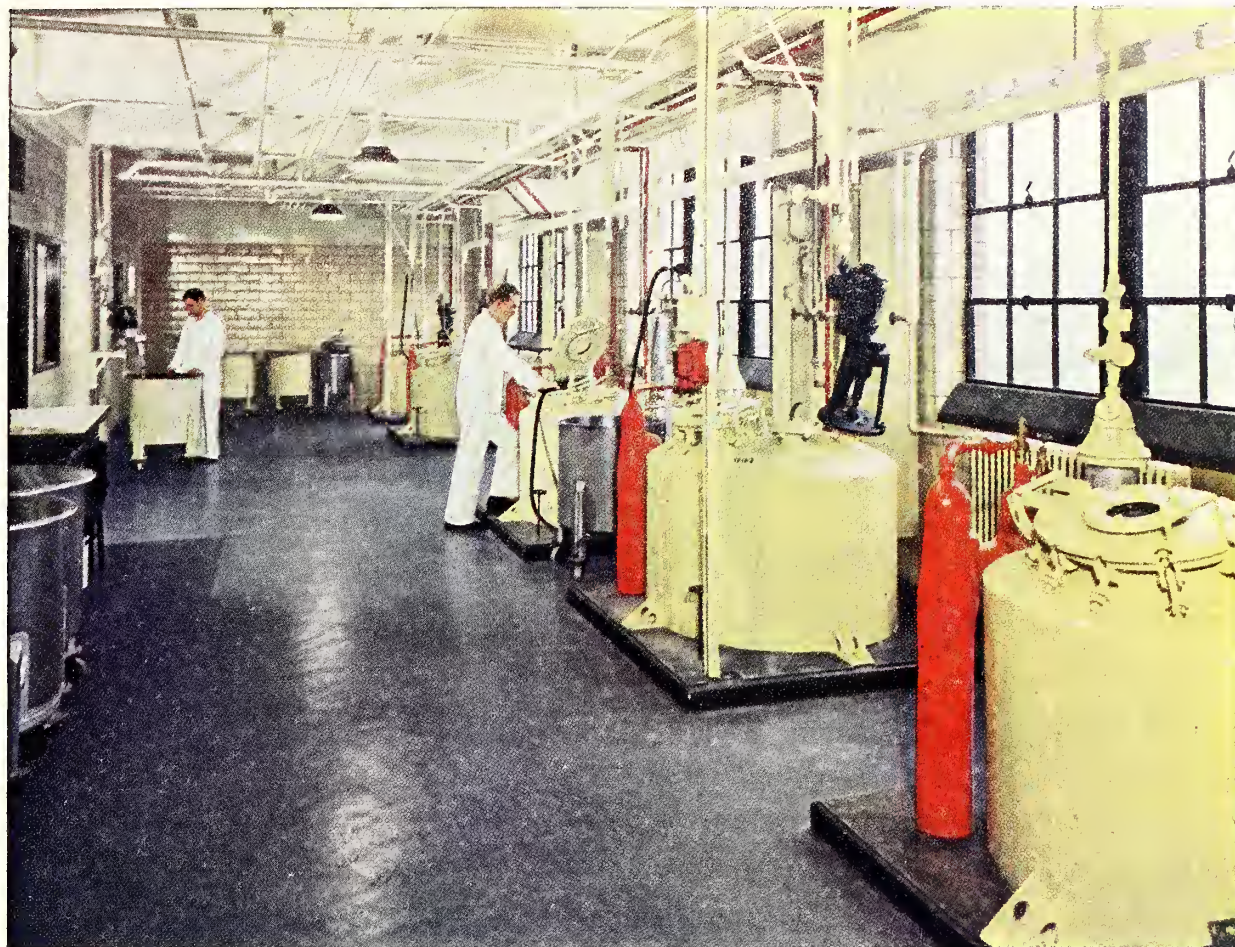


# LILLY: Heritage in Health

*The Story behind  
the Wonder Drugs*

BY  
R. CARLYLE BULEY





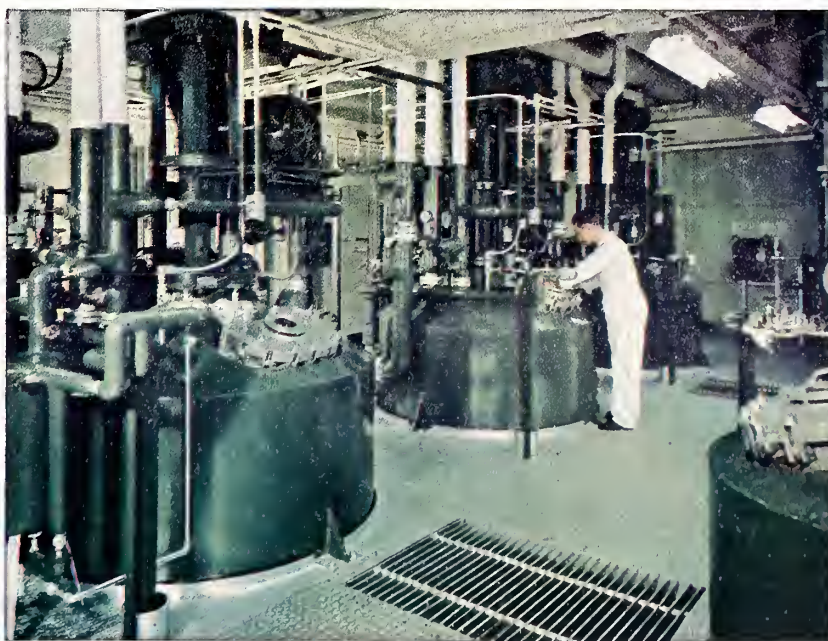
*In the production of Insulin for the treatment of diabetes, a battery of tanks is used in the ether precipitation step. Equipment is explosion-proof.*

ONE SUMMER DAY in 1854 a lad of sixteen stopped on the town square in Lafayette, Indiana, to study an overhanging sign which bore a picture and the inscription: "The Good Samaritan Drug Store." Something about the sign, or perhaps it was the interesting odors which emanated from within, created a desire in Eli Lilly to work in that store. His uncle, whom he was visiting, approved of the idea, and it was arranged that Henry Lawrence, the proprietor, take on the boy as an apprentice.

For five years the young man swept the store, washed bottles, tediously powdered drugs with pestle and mortar, learned to make tinctures and ointments, and studied the *United States Pharmacopoeia*, all under the painstaking supervision of Lawrence, who had received his training as a "chemist" in England.

His apprenticeship finished, Eli Lilly returned to Greencastle, his home town, got married, and opened a small drug store. But Civil War bugles called and along with thousands of other loyal Hoosiers the young druggist left his wife

*The 1,600-gallon experimental fermentors shown below are used for studying the fermentation of penicillin, streptomycin, and other new antibiotics.*





and infant son, Josiah Kirby Lilly, to serve in the United States army. In 1865 he was honorably discharged as a colonel.

Colonel Lilly tried farming in Mississippi—where his wife died, worked in a wholesale drug house in Indianapolis, and ran a drug store in Paris, Illinois. Ten years elapsed. Then one spring morning in 1876 Eli Lilly, aged 38, opened the doors of a small building on Pearl Street, the half-street which today bisects one of Indianapolis' leading department stores, and began his work as "manufacturing pharmacist." The space was limited, the capital investment in equipment and materials was about \$1,300, the personnel consisted of the proprietor, two helpers, and fifteen-year-old Josiah Kirby Lilly.

Times did not seem particularly auspicious for launching a new business; 1876 was not only Centennial Year, it was also a depression year. Money and credit were "tight," business was "down," there was widespread unrest, discontent, and discouragement. Judging by the advertisements of the period only the "patent" medicine business was flourishing. Had Eli Lilly been interested solely in making money he could have entered this business; its sales and profits were far more certain than those of the manufacturers of standard pharmaceutical products for the medical profession, which was just emerging from the heroic age of bleed, blister and purge. But his training and character decided the course; he could only hope, not foresee, that in time science, education, and pure food and drug acts would make it the surer as well as the more satisfactory one.

The history of drugs and doctors is a long and fascinating story. For thousands of years man had—in China, India, Egypt, Europe, and America—been making remedies and cures for human ills from plants, animals, minerals, and whatever. An Egyptian manuscript of 3,500 years ago prescribed a complicated cure for baldness, the Romans wrote on vulture medicine, Hindus had classified 500 herbs by the first century A.D. Mediaeval writings kept alive the knowledge of the ancient world, and when Europeans came to America they brought with them numerous herbals which contained much medical-drug knowledge already possessed by the American Indian. By the 1820's "medical botanys" were best sellers and for awhile it appeared that the "botanics" or "people's doctors," as they called themselves, might drive the

masters of lancet, moxa and calomel from the field. In addition there were various groups of "reformed" and "eclectic" practitioners who prescribed their own particular tinctures and elixirs, to say nothing of the homeopaths who believed that drugs were most potent given in infinitesimal dosages. But slowly science began to bring some order out of chaos; medical schools and schools of pharmacy finally came to be accepted by a majority of the people; the *United States Pharmacopoeia* (started in 1820), and the *American Journal of Pharmacy*, founded five years later, did much to



COLONEL ELI LILLY, THE FOUNDER;  
associated with the company 1876-1898.

standardize the production and dispensing of pharmaceutical products.

The new business started slowly. Colonel Lilly made the rounds of the drug trade, and when he had accumulated a bundle of orders for "sugar-coated pills, fluid extracts, elixirs, etc.," he returned to the shop to make them. He soon discovered that dusting pills with powdered gelatin, then steaming them, was a more economical process than individual dipping. By the fourth year the price list included 312 fluid extracts, 189 kinds of sugar-coated pills, 199 gelatin-coated pills, 50 elixirs, 15 syrups, and 5 wines; also "sacharated Pepsine" and "Hospital Quinine." Wholesalers as far away as the West Coast were placing orders. In 1880, when sales grew to almost \$66,000, the business was incorporated; capital stock was \$40,000; there were five stockholders. The following year the company moved to the location of its present main plant several

blocks south of the business district of Indianapolis.

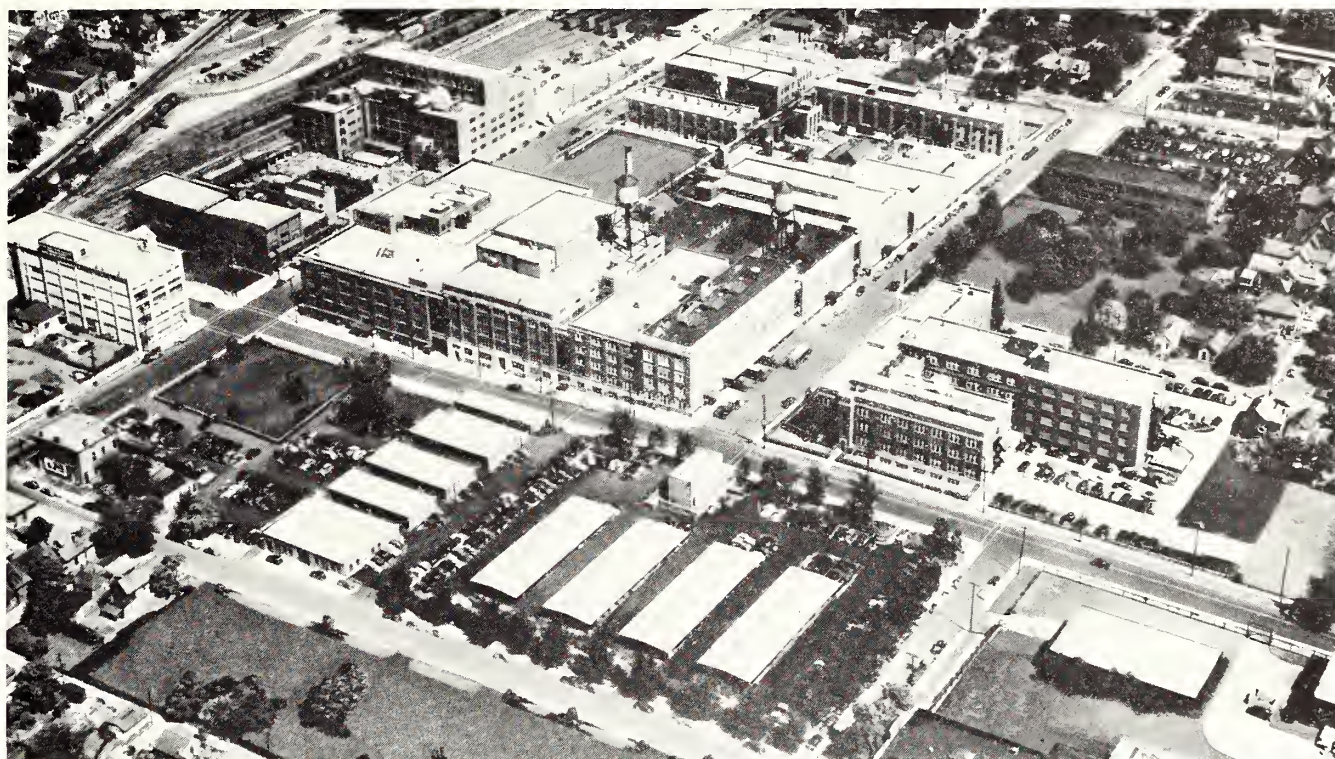
J. K. Lilly, after graduation from the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, had become superintendent of laboratories and within a few years organized the "Scientific Division" of the company. During the dull times of the mid-1880's two products helped materially to provide funds for further research and expansion. The first was gelatin capsules, a great boon to mankind. No longer was it necessary for the patient to take his bitter medicine by dumping the prescribed powders in a glass of water; quinine and ipecac went down as easily as licorice in the little soluble casings which Eli Lilly and Company produced by the millions. The other product was *Succus Alterans*, a compound formulated by an Alabama surgeon, and widely used at the time in the treatment of certain venereal diseases.

Colonel Eli Lilly lived to see his business safely through the depression of the 1890's. He loved Indianapolis and in his later years gave freely of his time and means to the improvement of transportation, schools, sanitation, and health. He died in 1898.

The modern organization of Eli Lilly and Company was developed by J. K. Lilly, who became president upon his father's death. In the early years the new president took his turn with the sales representatives—"the men on the road"—and sometimes was mistaken for one of them. He surrounded himself with outstanding men in all departments and delegated responsibility to them. By 1905, with branch houses in St. Louis, New Orleans, New York, and medical service representatives in every state, there was no doubt that Eli Lilly and Company had become a "national house." Eli Lilly, elder son of the president, became superintendent of laboratories in 1909, and shortly President J. K. Lilly was broadening his plans for the future. Three years later the company purchased 156 acres on the Old National Road just east of Indianapolis and began development of the laboratories for the manufacture of biological products.

World War I and the influenza epidemic—the worst for mortality incidence since the Asiatic Cholera two generations earlier—increased materially the need for drugs and medicines at the very time when the supply of raw materials was cut off or curtailed. Eli Lilly and Company even raised belladonna and stramonium (Jimson weed) to assure a sup-





*Bird's-eye view of McCarty Street Plant, Eli Lilly and Company, Indianapolis*

ply of atropine and its salts. In addition to carrying its share of the load in the production of vital drugs, J. K. Lilly and the company aided materially in financing and equipping the Lilly Base Hospital Number 32, which served in France from December 1917 to April 1919. J. K. Lilly, Jr., the younger son of the president, who had begun work with the company in 1914 served as a captain in the Medical Supply Service.

Shortly after the war came the news of insulin, the discovery of Dr. Frederick G. Banting and his associates in Canada. This new product, extracted in the laboratory from the endocrine portion of the pancreatic glands of dogs, promised a new lease on life to the hundreds of thousands of diabetics throughout the world. Much more experimentation remained to be done to produce the drug in quantity for the market. The Lilly Company gambled hundreds of thousands of dollars in research funds to work on the project and by 1923 Iletin (Insulin, Lilly) was in production by means of the isoelectric-precipitation method. The price was subsequently reduced many times. At the same time the company began marketing Coco-Vitamins and similar products—years before vitamins began to figure prominently in medicine, isolated ephedrine and clinically estab-

lished its uses, and developed "Amytal," and other sedatives.

By 1926, the fiftieth anniversary of the company, there were almost 1,500 personnel; market outlets had been established in Mexico, South America, Japan, China, and the Philippines; additional blocks of real estate were purchased for further expansion of plants. Three years later 34,000,000 packages of medicines were delivered to the shipping departments. Among the newer items were the liver products for the anemias, the sedative "Sodium Amytal," and "Merthiolate."

During the depression years sail was trimmed carefully; though some job re-assignment and a shortened work week were necessitated, no employees were released, nor wages cut. Eli Lilly took over the presidency from his father in 1932, to continue in that capacity until 1948 when he became Chairman of the Board

*Dr. R. C. Buley is professor of history at Indiana University. His interest in medical history dates back to his research for The Midwest Pioneer, His Ills, Cures and Doctors (1945) of which he is co-author. His monumental work, The Old Northwest: Pioneer Period, 1815-1840, appears soon.*

of Directors. The company's new Research Laboratories, one of the most modern in the world, were completed in 1934, and a British organization established. The research program was broadened and many new products took their places in the company's list. Among them were an improved insulin, "Seconal Sodium" and other barbiturates, sulfa drugs, penicillin, preparations for estrogenic therapy, and almost a dozen vitamins.

Eli Lilly and Company, Limited (Canada) was organized in 1938; Eli Lilly Pan-American (the Western Hemisphere outside Canada and the U. S.) was set up a few years later, as was Eli Lilly International. Subsidiaries were established in Mexico, Brazil, and the Argentine 1943-1944, and in 1947 Eli Lilly and Company of India was formed.

World War II, fought as it was from the tropics to the arctic, taxed medical science with its problems and put it up to the producers of medicines to provide the munitions for the physicians, surgeons, medical corps men and nurses. Eli Lilly and Company supplied more than 200 of its products; sent in quantity were penicillin, typhus vaccine, tetanus antitoxin, vitamins, Iletin (Insulin, Lilly), "Sodium Amytal," "Seconal Sodium,"

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 72)



# HOOSIER LAND

## STATE PARKS

Bass Lake Beach State Park  
Brown County State Park  
Clifty Falls State Park  
Indiana Dunes State Park  
Lincoln State Park  
McCormick's Creek State Park  
Mounds State Park  
Muscatatuck State Park  
Pokagon State Park  
Shades State Park  
Shakamak State Park  
Spring Mill State Park  
Tippecanoe River State Park  
Turkey Run State Park  
Versailles State Park

## STATE FORESTS—NURSERIES

Clark State Forest and Nursery  
Frances Slocum State Forest  
Ferdinand State Forest  
Greene-Sullivan State Forest  
Harrison State Forest  
Jackson State Forest and Nursery  
Jasper-Pulaski State Nursery  
Kankakee State Park and Forest  
Morgan-Monroe State Forest  
Martin State Forest  
Owen State Forest  
Pike State Forest  
Salamonie River State Forest  
Scales Lake State Forest  
Selmier State Forest  
Yellowwood State Forest

## STATE GAME FARMS—PRESERVES

Hovey Lake State Game Preserve  
Jasper-Pulaski State Game Farm and Preserve  
Kankakee State Game Preserve  
Wells State Game Farm and Preserve

## STATE MEMORIALS

Angel Mounds Memorial  
George Rogers Clark Memorial  
Corydon Capitol Memorial  
Gene Stratton Porter Memorial  
Goshen Church Memorial  
James F. D. Lanier Memorial  
Lumberlost Memorial  
Nancy Hanks Lincoln Memorial  
Pigeon Roost Memorial  
T. C. Steele Memorial  
Territorial Capitol Memorial  
Tippecanoe Battlefield Memorial  
Whitewater Canal Memorial  
Wilbur Wright Memorial

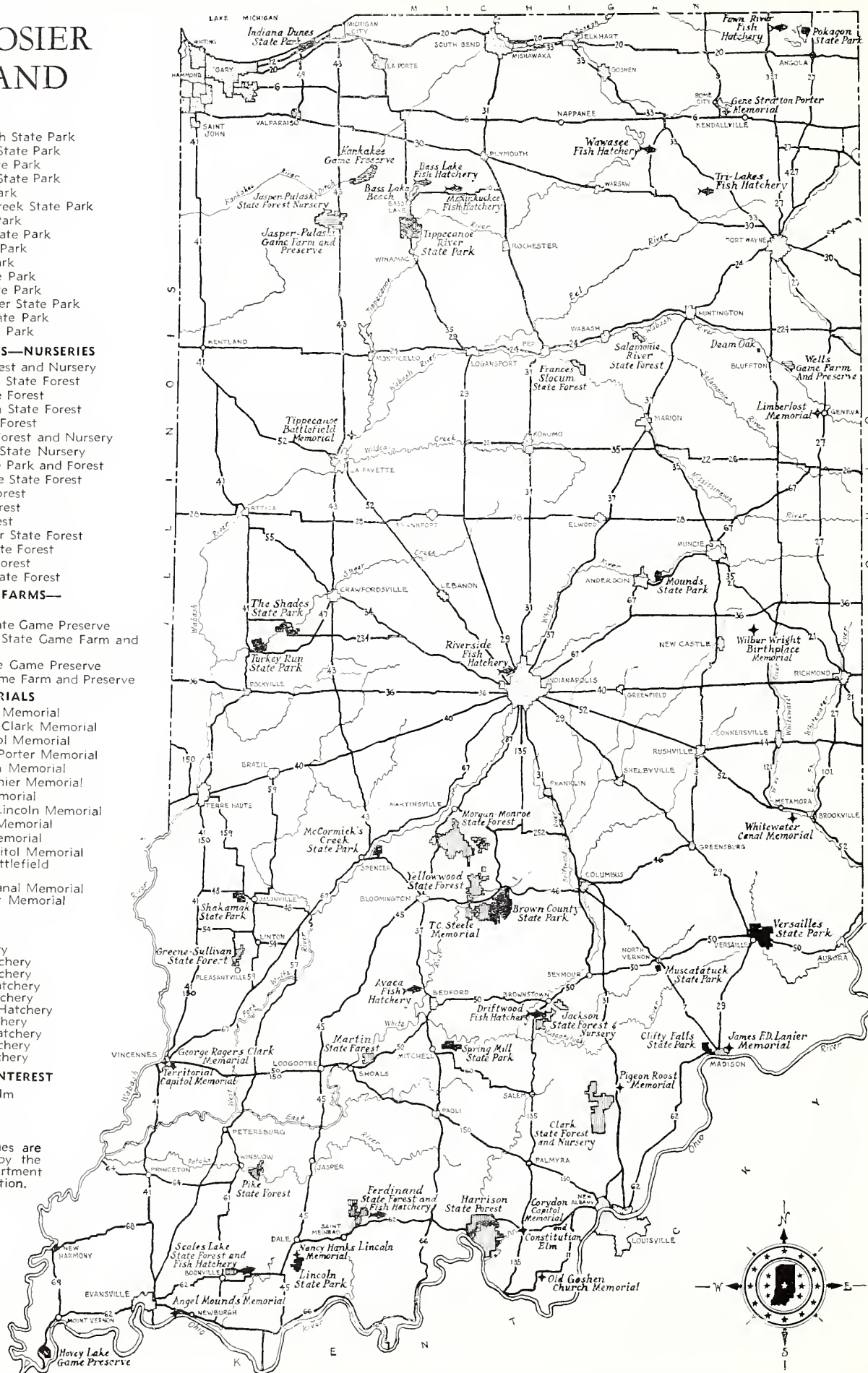
## STATE FISH HATCHERIES

Avoca Hatchery  
Bass Lake Hatchery  
Driftwood Hatchery  
Fawn River Hatchery  
Ferdinand Hatchery  
Maxinkuckee Hatchery  
Riverside Hatchery  
Scales Lake Hatchery  
Tri-Lakes Hatchery  
Wawasee Hatchery

## POINTS OF INTEREST

Constitution Elm  
Deam Oak

★  
These properties are administered by the Indiana Department of Conservation.





# Up the Wabash

WITH GUN AND CAMERA

OR *The Anatomy of Hoosier-Land*

BY SIR PERCIVAL TWICKINGTON

Noted Explorer and Anthropologist

(Recently returned from important expeditions in the hinterland)

ABOUT 700 MILES in the interior of North America, in a region lying between the tip of Lake Michigan and the Ohio River, dwells a people that call themselves "Hoosiers." The meaning of the word is unknown, and their country is not called Hoosierdom or Hoosierana, but Indiana. It exhibits a varied terrain, ranging from small lakes and sand dunes in the north, through flat farm lands in the central part, to hills and vales in the south.

The traveler may consider the southern uplands attractive, but the native insists that the whole country is beautiful. He even calls the humid climate salubrious. Consequently the native has a conviction of the superiority of his heath to all other regions of the continent that makes him display at once a friendly solicitude for foreigners, who are doomed to live in less beneficent surroundings, and a suspicion of their motives when they wish to barter or make alliances. Hoosiers do migrate, but only to form "Indiana Societies" in foreign cities in the struggle to maintain their culture amid alien surroundings and to perform a missionary service for their benighted neighbors.

Although there is no marked distinction in their dress and they speak American English with lazy, approximate correctness and only a slight nasal twang, they are otherwise a curious tribe. Singly, the Hoosier is completely harmless and even likable: he is articulate and hospitable to the point of exhaustion (yours, not his), he sometimes shows a dry wit, he displays a lively interest in the arts at a mediocre level, and the young females are often beautiful.

It is rare, however, to encounter the Hoosier alone. He mingles constantly and associates in groups having certain rituals, including the free exchange of tobacco, formalized dancing, and hand pumping. The organized Hoosier bedecks himself colorfully for parades (at one time, however, favoring white sheets, it is reported), sings in chorus at luncheon tables, eats together at outdoor fish fries and in church basements, and in winter ceremonies utters strange chants in immense amphitheaters built for worship of a god that is symbolized by a round object called a "basketball." Once a year the natives gather in a large field to breathe an incense of castor and motor oil and cheer on certain gladiators who pursue one another in wheeled torpedoes around an oval track until stopped by a checkered flag.

Similarly, Hoosiers also pursue culture in bands, as if afraid to meet it alone, favoring literary clubs where members quote the tribal Ancients and patriotic associations that permit the wearing of emblems, ribbons, and pioneer vir-

tues. They maintain two universities for their youth, and each autumn the superiority of the one over the other is determined in a contest on something called a "gridiron".

In lighter moments the Hoosiers play in appointed places called recreation areas, going there by thousands to get away from crowds. One of the phenomena of Hoosier life is that the ruling chiefs have only to fence in small areas of the country, label them "state parks," charge admission to keep people out and the populace immediately flocks to them.

Once the land was inhabited by buffalo and beaver, and the air was filled with passenger pigeons. The cooing of the pigeon has been replaced by the moan of the Monon, and the other animals are also extinct, along with the Crow, Stutz, Marmon, Maxwell, Haynes-Apperson, Waverly Electric, and interurbans. These fauna were followed by an ancient people called the Noble Red Race, who are sentimentally revered today by descendants of the early white invaders who cheerfully exterminated them. There are no half-breeds in Indiana, but numerous triple-split personalities: that is, people who are constituted one-third politician, one-third author, and one-third historian. The person who will not run for office, write a poem, or boast knowingly of pioneer days belongs to the inferior caste that works for money. This *noblesse oblige* has resulted in the production of some extraordinary authors, politicians of the type called "vice president," inaccurate and popular historians, and a scattering of modern bandits.

The Hoosier diet, to judge by his agriculture, is a peculiar combination of corn, hogs, tomatoes, and peppermint oil. There is frequent reference also to "grass roots," but apparently this does not designate an edible plant. A variety of crafts are practiced. In Lake County men stand before hot blast furnaces and pour molten steel into castings for tall buildings. In Brown County men sit before low buildings in the cool shade and cast tobacco juice on to concrete while pouring tall tales in one another's ears. Similarly, in Elkhart County are people who wear beards and hats but no lapels, while in Floyd County are those who will not wear hats or shoes.

The ruling chiefs of the nation live in a huge temple at the center of the country, and every four years don their weapons and with great flourishes give battle to aspiring chiefs who lay siege to their stronghold. This quadrennial struggle is known as the "Contest of the Ins and Outs." The rules are not written down and aren't clear, even to the natives who watch, but the conflict seems to be enjoyed nonetheless. END



# THE INDIAN PAINTINGS OF *George Winter*

ONE of the first painters of Indiana's Indians was an Englishman with a romantic desire to picture the redman. Born in England in 1809, George Winter came to America in 1830. His actual academic training had been slight, but his enthusiasm for drawing and painting was strong. In London he had visited museums and galleries and studied the works of the "Great Masters." He was enrolled for a short time in the National Academy of Design in New York before he came West. He knew what he wanted to do. "In the spring of the year 1837," he wrote, "having been led by a touch of romantic feeling to see and sketch the Indians of the Wabash, I found myself in the pleasant town of Logansport, located on the banks of the Wabash River in the County of Cass, Indiana. . . ." Winter came to Logansport at a very propitious time. Potawatomi and Miami were in and out of the town. Annuity payments and councils with the various tribes were scheduled and Winter traveled over the countryside with his pencil and portfolio, sketching and taking notes and making friends among the red men.

From the material that Winter collected between 1837 and 1839 he made the more than seventy oils and water colors of Indians and Indian scenes that survive today. He did not sell these or reap any pecuniary profit from them. He made some effort to interest the Indian Office of the Federal government in a series of large portraits of some of the chiefs and headmen, but was not successful. His paintings and sketches remained in the family's possession and have been deposited by his great-grandson in the Tippecanoe County Historical Museum in Lafayette, Indiana. Notes that Winter made about his pictures and journals that he kept of his excursions among the Indians have likewise been preserved and are an invaluable accompaniment to his paintings and drawings.

The Potawatomi and Miami left Indiana under forced emigration, but Winter continued to live there, in Logansport, and after 1850 in Lafayette. He lived by his pencil and brush, a precarious existence in a frontier settlement to be sure, but he did not give up. He painted portraits

of local citizens, landscapes, especially river scenes, and some romantic and imaginary oils. His portraits were conscientious portrayals of the sitters. Many of his landscapes were pleasing. His technical skill and natural aptitude were not great. But he worked patiently and did not give up.

In order to get money for his work he resorted to "distributions" or raffles of his pictures. He would place a number of his works on exhibition, sell certificates or chances on them, usually for \$2.00 a piece, and then hold a public drawing. These drawings became annual affairs in Lafayette, and some were held as far away as Toledo, Ohio, and Burlington, Iowa. Probably little actual profit was made, but as a consequence Winter's work was scattered over a broad area.

Winter died in Lafayette in 1876. One notice of his death read: "He was one of the pioneers of the Wabash—a devotee of art—and has perpetuated upon canvas much that is historic. He was a lovely spirit—genial, sunny, and always hoping for the best. We knew him well and loved him."

## *Mas-saw*

The first painting shown here is of the Potawatomi chief-tess, Mas-saw. It illustrates the careful attention of the artist to detail in costume and feature—what has been called a "miniaturist's delight in precision and clear color." Winter always kept in mind the historical value of his work, and faithfully portrayed his subject. He described Mas-saw as "an interesting aboriginal woman. In stature she was short and plump, somewhat vivacious. Her head was a good oval form. Her hair was always smooth and jetty shining. Her blanket and petticoat were of good dark blue broadcloth. Her cape was ornamented with large silver brooches, over which a vast mass of dark beads encircled her neck, extending as low down as her waist. Around her shoulders she had a blue crepe shawl, with large orange figures. . . ." The painting confirms his words.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 39)



















## THE INDIAN PAINTINGS OF

*George Winter*

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 34)

### *Iowa*

Next we have Iowa, an outstanding young Potawatomi, in scarlet turban and blue coat. Of Iowa Winter wrote, "Among a group of Indians which were the first aborigines I had ever seen, one in particular attracted my attention. He was small in stature and not so gaily and fantastically dressed as many who formed the very picturesque group. There was a distinguished manner in the Indian. . . . His turban was larger than most of those of the other Indians and more negligently placed on his head, and the ends fell very gracefully over his shoulders. The superiority which I imagined he evinced was in his very animated countenance which seemed never at rest. His eyebrows were continuously raised, as if existing under the impulse of serious thought, and occasionally his lip would assume a scornful curvature, and frequently a smile would play upon his countenance as many of the pale faces with whom the Indian was familiar would pass him. . . . With an awakened curiosity to know the name of this child of nature I enquire his name, which was 'Iowa,' a young war chief who possesses a great influence among his red brethren. He speaks in the councils of this nation."

### *Frances Slocum and Her Daughters*

Probably Winter's most exciting adventure among the Indians was his visit to Deaf Man's Village near Peru, Indiana, on the Mississinewa River, to paint the portrait of Frances Slocum, the Captive, the "White Rose of the Miami." In 1778 Frances, a child of five years, was taken captive by a tribe of Delaware Indians in the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania. She grew up as an Indian and was married first to a Delaware warrior. Later she married a Miami chief, the Deaf Man, and they moved to the Mississinewa. Her husband died about 1833, and she continued to live in the little village with her two daughters and their families. In 1837 this old white woman was found by the trader George Ewing. She was ailing and feeble, and fearing death would soon take her away, she told the story which she had kept secret so long. She had told no one before, fearing she would be taken away by her white relatives. The story was published in the Lancaster, Pennsylvania, *Intelligencer*, where it was read by her family. In the fall of 1837 Frances' two brothers and a sister paid her a visit and urged her to return to the East with them. But she refused. "I cannot, I cannot. I am an old tree. I cannot move about; I was a sapling when they took me away. It is all gone past. I am afraid I should die and never come back. I am happy here.

I shall die here." In 1839 Joseph Slocum visited his sister again and it was at this time that he commissioned Winter to paint her portrait.

The artist went by canal boat from Logansport to Peru, and then made his way on foot to the little Indian village. He stayed over night. He made several sketches of Frances, her home, the village, and the Mississinewa country. He painted three large portraits in oil of the Captive and several water colors. In the one reproduced here she is shown with her daughters. The one with her back to the artist is O-son-wa-pak-shin-qua or Yellow Leaf. This girl had a superstition, common among the Miami, against having her likeness made. The other daughter is Kick-ke-se-qua, wife of the half-breed Jean Baptiste Brouillette. Winter wrote that "Frances Slocum's face bore the marks of deep-seated lines. The muscles of her cheeks were like corded rises, and her forehead ran in almost right-angular lines. There was indication of no unwanted cares upon her countenance beyond time's influence which peculiarly marks the decline of life. She bore the impress of old age, without its extreme feebleness. Her hair which was evidently of dark brown color was not frosted. Though bearing some resemblance to her family, yet her cheek bones seemed to bear the Indian characteristic in that particular—face broad, nose somewhat bulby, mouth perhaps indicating some degree of severity. In her ears she wore some few 'ear bobs.'"

"The Captive suggested the idea of her being a half-breed Pottawattamie. She was low in stature, being about five feet in height. . . . Frances looked upon her likeness with complacency. Kick-ke-se-qua eyed it approvingly yet suspiciously—it was a mystery. The widowed daughter, O-son-wa-pak-shin-qua, would not look at it, but turned away from it abruptly when I presented it to her for her inspection as though some evil surrounded it."

### *A Miami Indian*

The Miami Indian shown here is not identified by name. The Miami superstition against being portrayed made it difficult to get sketches of them, and Winter was forced to resort to various subterfuges. He described this tribe as being generally taller than the Potawatomi, with oval heads and aquiline noses.



*The four paintings shown here are reproductions of water colors by Indiana's George Winter. They have been selected from the thirty illustrations of the artist's work to be found in THE JOURNALS AND INDIAN PAINTINGS OF GEORGE WINTER, published in 1948 by the Indiana Historical Society, which has prepared this sketch of the artist.*

EDITOR



# FATHER of WATERS

## *Four Centuries of the Mississippi*

By *Bertha L. Heilbron*

EDITOR, *Minnesota History*

UP AND DOWN THE MISSISSIPPI, from Lake Itasca to the Gulf of Mexico, in counties and parishes, towns and villages, hamlets and cities, the musical name of a Spanish Don has long been familiar. In the months before Pearl Harbor, dwellers along the river were recalling this dashing figure anew, for the summer of 1941 marked the four-hundredth anniversary of Hernando de Soto's discovery of the Father of Waters. The Spaniard came upon the greatest of North American rivers while on a westward march from Florida in May, 1541.

De Soto had long been familiar with the hardships of adventure in the western hemisphere. In 1519, when he was only nineteen years old, he crossed the Atlantic for the first time. The sixteen years that followed were spent in South America, where he played a major role in the Spanish conquest of Peru. Fabulous wealth he found there, and he returned to Spain in 1535 to live in luxury. But he must have been bored by a life of ease, for two years later he returned to the New World at the head of an expedition of Spanish noblemen. De Soto carried with him an appointment as governor of Cuba and "adelantado" of Florida. He was ready to repeat his search for wealth in North America.

Using Cuba as a base for an expedition to Florida, in May, 1539, De Soto left Havana with more than six hundred men in nine vessels. Up the west coast of Florida and into the



LOUISIANA AND THE MISSISSIPPI, by John Senex (London 1720)

interior he marched. Cruelty and deceit had been effective in the conquest of the mild Indians of South America, but the warlike tribes of this new continent offered sharp resistance. For two years the Spaniards pushed their way westward, fighting battles with the natives and breaking a path through the swamps and bogs of Florida, the pine forests of Georgia, the cane brakes and sloughs of Mississippi, and the rugged mountains of Tennessee. And still they did not find what they were seeking, a land of wealth where men wore "golden hats like casques."

The Spaniards spent the winter of 1540-41 somewhere in Mississippi. In March their camp was attacked by Indians, eleven men were killed, and precious supplies were burned. Nevertheless, they continued their westward course, and early in May De Soto made the discovery that has given him enduring fame. He "saw the great river"! Just where this event took place is still a matter of doubt, but many historians believe that the weary Spaniards reached the Mississippi at a point now within Memphis city.

One of De Soto's followers wrote the earliest description of the Mis-



Mississippi. "The River was almost halfe a league broad," he said. "If a man stood still on the other side, it could not be discerned whether he were a man or no. The River was of great depth, and of a strong current; the water was alwaies muddy; there came downe the River continually many trees and timber."

Still hoping to find gold, the Spaniards built barges and crossed the river. But on its west bank they found only hardship, disappointment, and death, and there, on May 21, 1542, De Soto died. Appropriately, his followers dropped his body into the stream he had discovered.

Thus white men first saw the valley that is often described as the most desirable "dwelling-place for civilized man . . . upon our globe." Whence came its waters and where did they go? Centuries were to pass before these questions were definitely answered.

More than a hundred years elapsed before the upper reaches of the Mississippi were seen by Europeans. The honors for this discovery go to the French. It is just possible that in the decade of the 1650's the upper river was reached by Radisson and Groseilliers, two venturesome French fur traders, but the accounts of their expedition are so confused that we cannot be certain where they went and what they saw. Credit for first reaching the upper river is generally given to two other Frenchmen—a courageous Jesuit father, Jacques Marquette, and his sturdy companion, Louis Jolliet. They followed the Fox River westward from Lake Michigan, portaged to the Wisconsin, and floated down that stream until they glided out upon the Mississippi. The gentle Marquette recorded that he viewed the broad stream "with a joy that I cannot express." These Frenchmen were true explorers; they wanted to know in what direc-

tion their river flowed. So they descended to the mouth of the Arkansas before turning back, convinced that the Mississippi flowed to the south.

Soon other Frenchmen appeared in the valley. In 1682 La Salle sailed with the current from the mouth of

And eventually, in 1803, the Louisiana Purchase made the entire region American. The purchase inaugurated a new period of exploration, a period that culminated in the discovery of the Mississippi's source. Through three centuries, the location of the river's headwaters con-



ITASCA LAKE, SOURCE OF THE MISSISSIPPI

*Colored lithograph by Seth Eastman*

*From the Yale University Press*

the Illinois to the gulf. On an island at the mouth of the Mississippi he proclaimed the sovereignty of his king, "Louis le Grand, Roy de France," over the entire valley, calling it "Louisiana." Two years earlier La Salle had sent northward into the Minnesota country an expedition that identified with the upper Mississippi the names of Father Louis Hennepin, Michael Accault, and Antoine Auguelle. It was Hennepin's discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony that added to maps the site of the future city of Minneapolis. Other French explorers of the great valley during the closing decades of the seventeenth century were Du Luth, Perrot, Tonty, and Le Sueur.

British, Spanish, French, and American flags flew at various times over portions of the Mississippi Valley in the century that followed.

continued to be a mystery, and it remained for an American to solve that riddle.

The search began in 1805-06, when Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, of Pike's Peak fame, pushed northward as far as Leech Lake. Fifteen years later, in 1820, Governor Lewis Cass of Michigan worked westward from Lake Superior as far as the lake that bears his name. After a voyage up the Minnesota and down the Red River to the international boundary in 1823, an Italian explorer named Beltrami tried to find the Mississippi's source from the northwest. Finally, in 1832, Henry R. Schoolcraft, who had been with Cass twelve years before, retraced the route of the earlier journey and penetrated beyond its goal to Lake Itasca. From one of his followers, a missionary, William T. Boutwell, the leader obtained the Latin words





FORT SNELLING

*Oil by James M. Boal*

*From the collection of The Minnesota Historical Society*

ST. ANTHONY FALLS, 1852

*Oil by R. Sloan*

*From the collection of The Minnesota Historical Society*



for truth and head—*veritas* and *caput*. Schoolcraft struck out the first syllable of the first word and the last of the second, thus coining the musical name "Itasca." He intended it to suggest "true head" or source of the river. Four years later the Itasca basin was re-examined and carefully mapped by a French scientist, Joseph N. Nicollet.

And so the whole course of the Mississippi became known to explorers, map makers, and finally to emigrants and settlers. As the lands of the great valley were opened to settlement, people from all the countries of Europe as well as from the eastern United States went there to establish homes; and they found not only homes, but the wealth for which De Soto searched in vain.

As settlement progressed, the government built forts to protect the newcomers. Fort Snelling, founded in 1819, was long the northernmost of these military outposts. In time ten states bordering on the Mississippi were admitted to the Union; twenty-seven more are traversed or bordered by the fifty-four navigable tributaries that pour into the Father of Waters. All these commonwealths have used the great river as a highway and a route to such markets for their products as St. Louis and New Orleans. Varied are the cargoes that have been transported on Mississippi waters—furs, lumber, lead, wheat, port, cotton, tobacco, whiskey, coffee, sugar.

The river too became a Mecca for tourists. As early as 1835 George Catlin, the artist of Indian life, saw the possibilities of the "fashionable tour" to the Falls of St. Anthony at the head of navigation. He wrote ecstatically of the "magnificence of the scenes which are continually opening to the eye of the traveller, and riveting him to the deck of the steamer."

Later, in the 1840's and 1850's, artists who recorded their impres-



sions on great rolls of canvas were sketching along the Mississippi. They produced panoramas, painted on canvas, that could be unrolled before audiences to the accompaniment of lectures. These were the travel movies of our great-grandfathers, the documentaries of the mid-nineteenth century. They attracted to the Mississippi Valley thousands of tourists and settlers. John Banvard painted a panorama of the river below St. Louis; Henry Lewis pictured its course above that city. Authors as well as artists became familiar with the Mississippi. Among those who added to its fame in their works were Dickens, Marryat, Trollope, Harriet Martineau, Thoreau, and Mark Twain.

Steamboats churned the waters of the Mississippi, carrying tourists, settlers, and freight to destinations between New Orleans and the Falls of St. Anthony. As many as a thousand landings were reported at the St. Paul levee in a single season. Even after railroads were built, the boats continued to be important; the White Collar and Diamond Jo lines operated into the present century. With the inauguration of the Federal Barge Line in 1927 and the completion of the nine-foot channel, a new era of unparalleled traffic has developed on the upper river. On its waters, according to one estimate, "moves one-eighth of the water-borne traffic of the United States, and nearly a twentieth of the total annual traffic carried by rail."

The automobile, too, has made possible a fresh approach to the Mississippi. Along its varied and picturesque banks, tourists can travel from Itasca to New Orleans, from the land of the pine to that of the palm, from Paul Bunyan's to Old Al's country. And as they drive, perhaps they realize anew that Minnesota's ten thousand lakes and Louisiana's bayous lie within the same gigantic valley.



INDIAN'S HEAD, PORTSMOUTH, OHIO  
*Panel from the "Mississippi Panorama"*  
 by Dr. Montroville W. Dickeson and John J. Egan  
 From the collection of the University of Pennsylvania

PUNKA INDIANS ENCAMPED ON THE BANKS OF THE MISSOURI  
*Aquatint by Charles Bodmer*  
 From the collection of the New York Public Library







# Old Man River

A 44 H



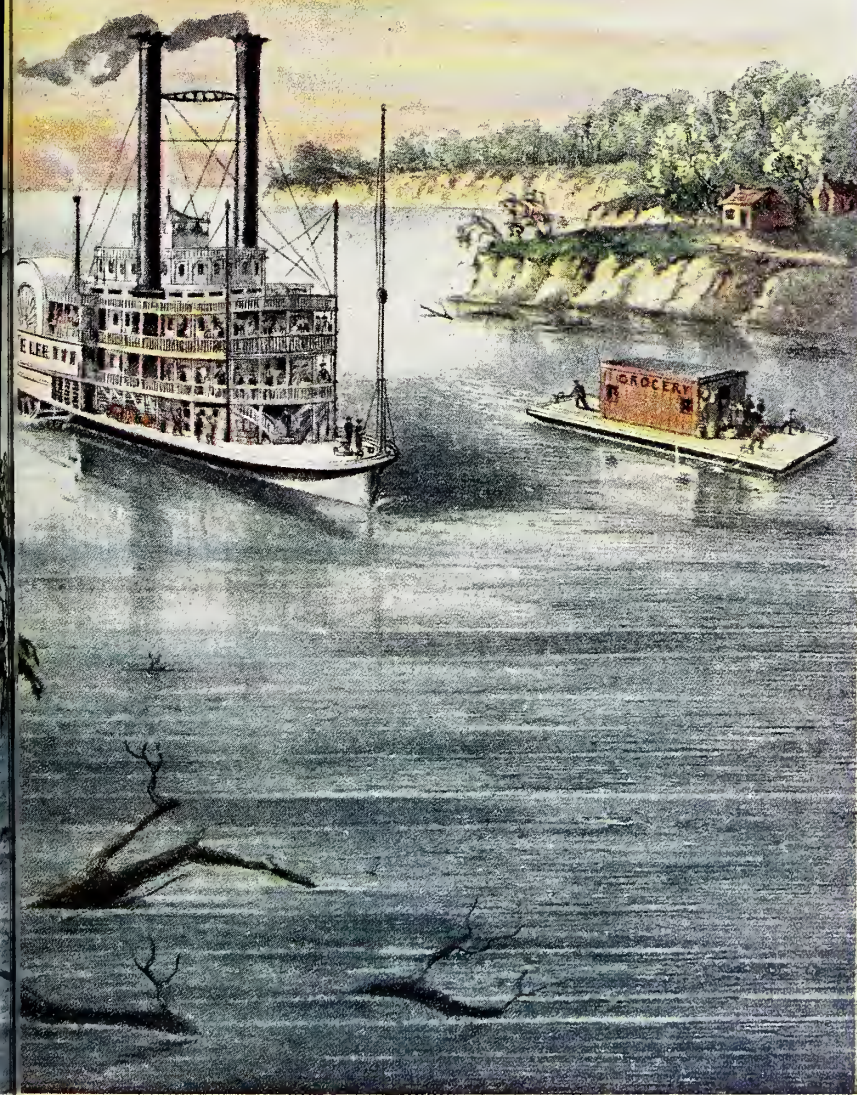
GEOGRAPHERS tend to disregard the clean upper stretches of the Mississippi, and to consider the great river's true source as the headwaters of the Missouri. Their combined 4200 miles of waterways have bound the Alleghenies to the Rockies, and helped keep the expanding nation "one and indivisible." The Mississippi has shaped the lives and attitudes of all those who have lived in its valley, and through them, much of the character of our mature nation. Too big and too subtle to catch in a phrase, even the garrulous frontiersman found no nickname for it, but the Negro's "old man river," fits as well as any.

Thousands of tributaries, many bearing names of Indian, French, or Spanish origin, feed the Mississippi. Its waters are muddy and turbulent, its temper uncertain. In the 1850's a Waverly, Missouri, newspaper bragged that the Missouri was "the muddiest, the deepest, the shallowest, the bar-i-est, the snaggiest, the sandiest, the catfishiest, the swiftest, the steamboat-i-est, and the uncertainest river in all the world." Residents along the Mississippi banks boasted that they were such "go-ahead" people they had no time to filter the water. They drank it mud and all, and called it fresh, sweet, and healthful. "And besides," a steamboat captain once explained to a shocked New Englander, "it scours out the bowels, Ma'am."

The Mississippi has a life and a personality of its own, which all the pioneer tall tales, and all the books of description and statistics, and all the canvases painted by artists along its shores, only help to catch and explain. The muted sounds of river life are not in the rhythm of modern civilization, and the familiar scenes along the Mississippi banks take on new meaning to those who travel its waters.

The river can be soft and gentle, flowing in a silver, rose, or lavender haze. Or it can be a brown and sinister fury, lashed by wind and swollen by floods which surge out of the channel to wash away houses, barns, and crops. Its banks, between the grimy crags of modern cities, are tree lined and beautiful, broken by towering limestone bluffs. At many places along its ways are ancient Indian mounds. Once the exposed surfaces of the bluffs bore weird Indian paintings such as the Piasa bird, near Alton, Illinois, which was a crude representation of a creature half bird, half serpent. These have long since weathered away, or been blasted off to make way for railroad tracks or highways.

At the Grand Chain of the Mississippi, about thirty miles above the mouth of the Ohio, the river boils against Devil's Bake Oven on the Illinois shore, and is thrown back against Grand Tower on the Missouri bank. In this turbulent spot, just above the point where the valley widens into the fertile delta of the lower river, pioneer boatmen used once to initiate greenhorns into their trade. In the bottoms along the river, an occasional swamp or lake marks the channel's former course. In these are found fascinating birds and fish, and many varieties of plant life, all guarded

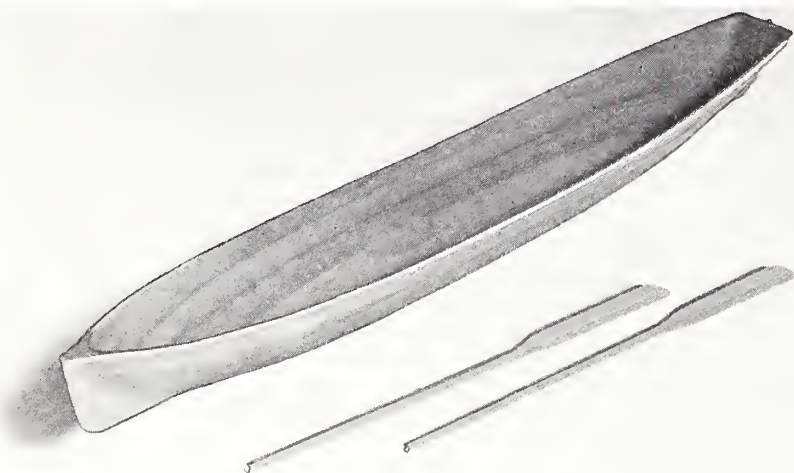


## *Life and Character of the Mississippi*

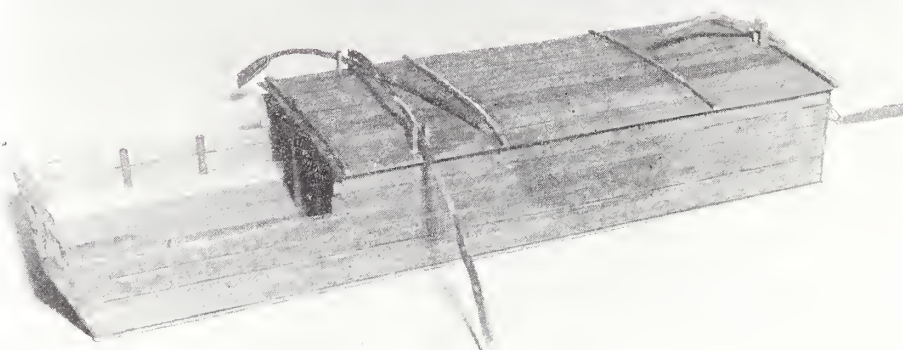
BY CHARLES VAN RAVENSWAAY

*Director, Missouri Historical Society*



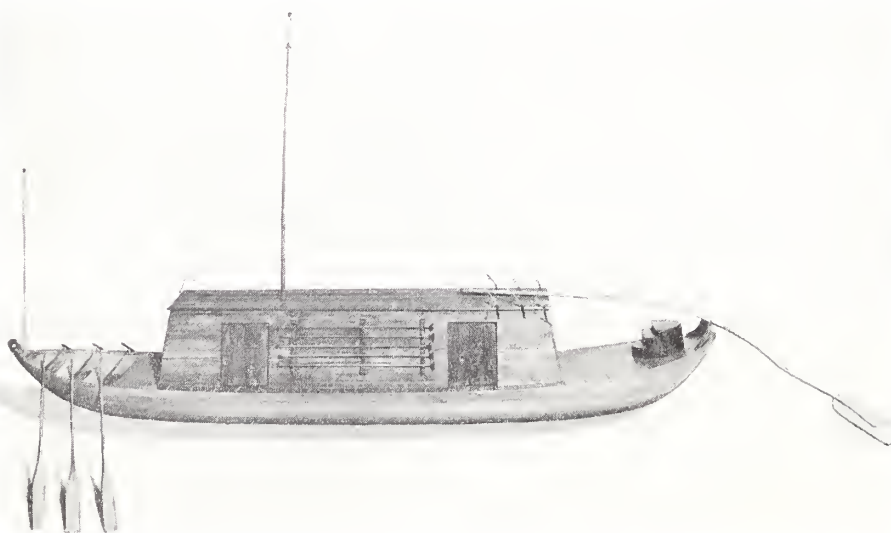


PIROGUE, WITH PADDLES



FLATBOAT, WITH RUDDER AND SWEEPS

KEELBOAT, WITH RUDDER, OARS AND SETTING POLES



by swarms of mosquitoes which in an earlier time were the deadly enemy of the entire valley.

On the sand bars and lonely islands the entire length of the great waterways are thickets of willow and poplar and sycamore, where wild ducks and blue heron take sanctuary in seasonal flights, and the native mushroom, the morel, is to be found on the first warm days of spring. Pioneer records tell of green and orange parakeets in great number, and passenger pigeons that darkened the sky in their flight, but these varieties are now extinct. The enormous size and whiskered ugliness of the Mississippi catfish terrified early travelers. Now they are caught and sold by fishermen who live in huts along the banks, and vary their fishing with snagging driftwood during the spring "rise."

The Mississippi has served the nation as a highway, and as a battleground; it has been a road to opportunity, and a barrier to religion and the law; an international boundary, and a unifying force. It still remains the dividing line between "back East" and "out West."

De Soto was the first white man to see the Mississippi nearly four centuries ago. Marquette and Joliet began the first real exploration of the river in 1673. Shortly after that, French-Canadian trappers, traders, and priests began nosing their canoes into every tributary of the river, searching for furs, or souls to be saved; seeking gold, or waterways to the Pacific.

Villages slowly grew up along the routes of these explorers. The earliest permanent settlement was at Cahokia, Illinois, in 1699. During the following century other villages were established along the fertile banks all the way to New Orleans. For their settlers the only real link with each other and with the outside world was the river. During the years of French, Spanish, and English occupation, the river and its remote settlements were on the outermost fringe of the civilized world, but nevertheless they served as pawns in the game of international politics for the control of the continent. From the Revolution to the Civil War, the valley and the river played a vital part in military strategy.

The western farmers and merchants depended upon the river to



get their produce to eastern or European markets, and by the thousand they loaded their grain, lead, cattle, salt, and furs onto flatboats, and headed for New Orleans. Thus they saw more of the world than many of their descendants, and came to know a national pride and solidarity. In contrast, the southern common man, who rarely left his home, did not feel as strongly that the river and its tributaries had bound the nation into an indissoluble union. But so she had, and these bonds were to survive even war.

Indian canoes provided the first means of transportation on the river. In the upper stretches, where frequent portages were necessary because of rapids or shallows, the canoes were generally of birch bark. In the lower reaches the much heavier *pirogues*, made of hollowed logs, were used. The larger of these were some thirty feet long, and with a three and a half beam, and a mast amidships with a square sail. Some boats of this type were used in southeast Missouri until the twentieth century. In areas where wood was not plentiful bullboats of a red willow frame covered with stretched buffalo hide were common.

French and Spanish settlers used a much larger craft, the keelless flat-bottomed *bateau*, which was maneuvered upstream by pole, sail, or oars. Sometimes the crew literally pulled it up by means of a towline, or *cordelle*. In the early nineteenth century, American settlers introduced keelboats, which had wooden ribs covered with planks, and also carried a sail. Long and slender, they could carry from fifteen to thirty tons of freight at a time. But like the *bateau*, they depended largely upon muscle power for upstream progress. In deep water oars were used, but generally the boats hugged the shore where the current was less swift. Here the crew pushed the boat along by means of setting poles, or used a *cordelle*. Sometimes in difficult stretches of the river the boat was warped



along by means of a line and windlass. Barges were also in common use at that time. Wider than a keelboat, and comparable in size to many ocean-going vessels of their day, they could carry up to fifty tons of freight. In 1802 the average trip from New Orleans to St. Louis might require as much as four months. Traveling downstream, the journey took from ten to thirty days, depending upon the stage of the river. For transporting the bulky, heavy freight to market, huge rafts were used which were square-cornered and flat-bottomed, called variously "flatboats," "Kentucky flats," or "broadhorns." Furniture and country produce of every kind was loaded on these and floated downstream. Once unloaded, the craft was broken up and sold for lumber, the crew returning by keelboat, or by land, and later by steamboat.

Since there were no highways, and travel by land on foot, horseback, or wagon was not only slow but extremely dangerous, the Mississippi was heavy with traffic even in these early days. Everyone rode the river; flatboatmen with their produce for market; settlers with their furniture seeking the promised land; theatrical troupes; bands of soldiers; merchants selling pottery and household gear. Many guide books of the river were published, giving distances, charts, navigation hazards, and

STEAMBOAT "BEN JOHNSON," 525-ton side-wheeler, built in St. Louis in 1866, destroyed by fire in 1869. Photo is of a contemporary model—a rarity—from the collection of Joseph Pulitzer.

MANIFEST of the Steamboat "James Howard," carrying a record load of 7701 bales of cotton. From the collection of Miss Ruth Ferris.

MANIFEST	
JAMES HOWARD	
TO	
RICHARDSON & MAY,	
NOVEMBER 30, 1875.	
King & Clifton,	632
W. L. & C. L. Moore,	101
Nelson & Hanks,	218

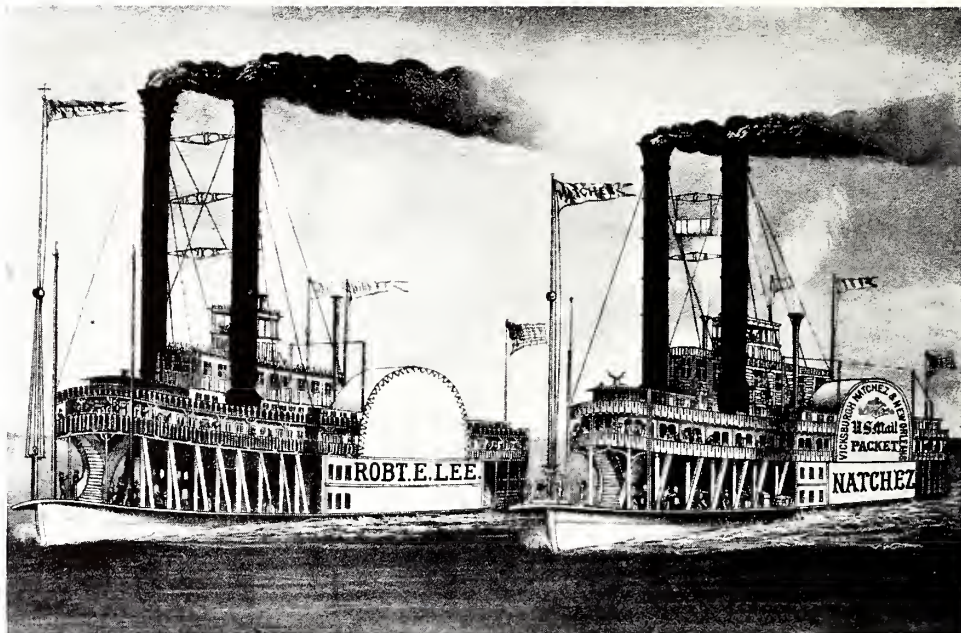


landmarks, along with sundry bits of miscellaneous information, often of a curious nature. The *Navigator*, 1811, published by Zadok Cramer, throws in this interesting fact: "The Pelican is said to have a melancholy countenance . . . and is very torpid . . . It is asserted that they seem to be fond of musick."

The first flatboatmen were generally farmers who merely made a trip to market when they had produce to sell, or trappers who divided their time between trapping and boating. Before long, however, the traffic supported professional boatmen, usually Creoles—American-bred French or Spanish. Clad only in breech-clouts in summer, living on frugal and monotonous fare, they were docile, tractable workers who plied the river singing their traditional songs of Canada and France.

As the traffic increased and settlement developed, the Creole boatmen were superseded by lusty American roisterers who took the river as their own. Generally honest and faithful, they were none the less heavy drinkers, foul-witted and prodigal. Almost to a man they were great fighters. Mark Twain tells that, upon landing, the strongest of each crew would put a red feather in his cap to challenge any one on shore to fight, "fair" or "rough and tumble." A rough and tumble fight ended only when one contestant was maimed or disfigured for life. "Whoo-ooop," a typical flatboatman hollered as he came ashore. "I'm the old original iron-jawed, brass mounted, copper belied corpsemaker from the wilds of Arkansas! . . . Lay low and hold your breath, for I'm about to turn myself loose!" Drunken crews and their lawless friends made Natchez-under-the-Hill, and many other spots along the river, notorious.

Probably the most famous of the rivermen of that day was Mike Fink, a slow spoken man of prodigious endurance, who was a crack shot and had a woman named "Pittsburgh Blue." An Indian fighter in his youth, he became a keelboatman of great popularity in his middle years. He brawled his way in and out of every town along the Mississippi, boasting that he was "half-man, half-alligator, and chock full of fight." One of his favorite exhibitions was to shoot a cup of whiskey off the head of a trusting companion, until the inevitable day when his rifle "slipped." Eventually, when he had retired from the river and become a trapper in the Far West, he was shot by a friend of the man he had killed.



THE GREAT MISSISSIPPI STEAMBOAT RACE

Colored lithograph

*published by Currier and Ives, 1870*

*From the collection of Knox College*

CONVENT DU SACREMENT

*depicting a steamboat collision*

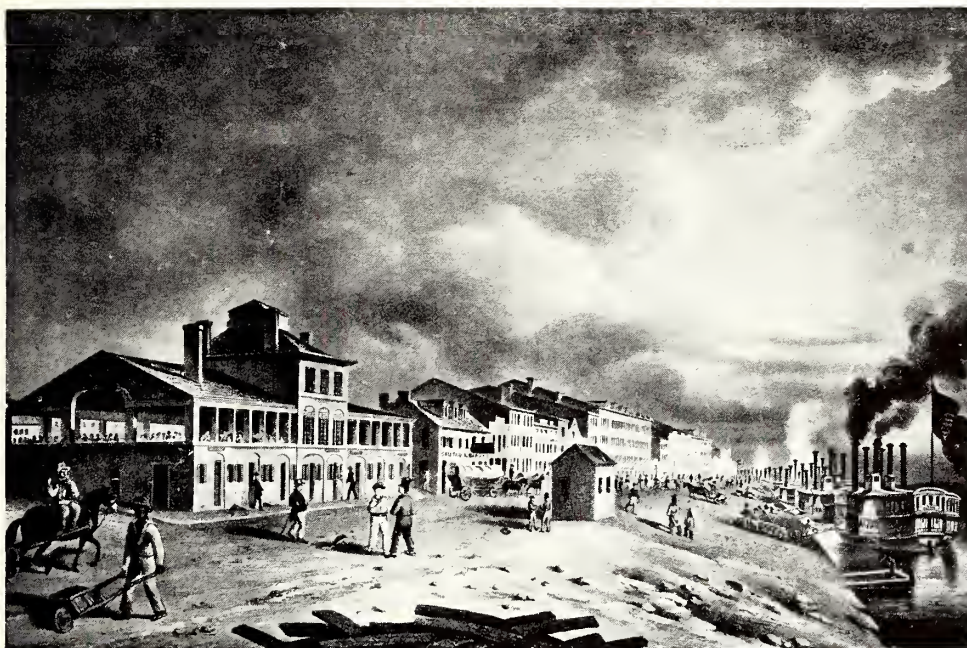
Colored lithograph

*by Henry Lewis, 1854*

*From the collection of the City Art Museum*







VIEW OF FRONT STREET, ST. LOUIS

Colored lithograph

by John Casper Wild, 1840

From the collection of the Missouri Historical Society

THE LEVEE—NEW ORLEANS

Colored lithograph

by W. A. Walker, 1883

From the collection of Knox College



Because traffic on the river was rich and lush, and law enforcement practically non-existent, criminals were naturally attracted. The particularly unsettled condition which followed the American Revolution fostered an outbreak of pirates along the lower Mississippi. Working in bands, the pirates would either lure their victims ashore, or board them on the river in traditional pirate fashion. Cave-in-Rock, on the lower Ohio, became notorious. Even the wife and children of the Spanish Lieutenant-Governor Cruzat of St. Louis were captured and held for a time. With the coming of a more settled government, and the development of the steamboat, both the pirates and the brawling keelboatmen were driven from the river. With them went the mellow notes of the boatman's horn across the water, and the echo of such songs as:

*Some rows up, but we rows down,  
All the way to Shawnee town,  
Pull away—pull away!*

They were followed by restless, improvident shanty-boatmen, whose "driftings" have been transferred by the jalopy to our highways.

After the invention of the steam engine in the eighteenth century it was, of course, but a short step to the development of steamboats. Who actually invented this craft has long been debated. Oliver Evans proposed their use on western rivers in 1785; John Fitch and others had begun experiments on such craft before 1800. Livingston and Fulton, after successful experiments on the Hudson, joined with Nicholas J. Roosevelt in building a steamboat at Pittsburgh in 1810. Roosevelt took the boat on her maiden voyage to New Orleans during the following year, but not without adventure. As they neared New Madrid, close to the mouth of the Ohio River, they were caught in the most violent earthquake America has ever known. The earth heaved and split, and the Mississippi waters flowed backward. The 116-foot boat was severely tossed about, but eventually weathered the cataclysm. Other boats in the vicinity were totally destroyed, some being literally swallowed whole. The little steamboat chugged on and pulled into the Natchez wharf with such a show of energy that a Negro on the bank threw up his hat and whooped, "Old Mississippi done got her master now!"

The boats which Fulton and Livingston designed for use on the Mississippi were deep-drafted, low-powered craft such as had succeeded on the Hudson



River. Captain Henry M. Shreve, well-known as the Master of the Mississippi, finally developed a vessel more suited to the shallow waters of the great river and its tributaries. He also cleared the channel of snags and sawyers, and even of the hulks of wrecked vessels. In 1815, Shreve directed the building of the *Washington* at Wheeling. This boat had a shallow hull, with the boilers and engines on the main deck, and an added second deck. Its engines used stationary, horizontal cylinders with oscillating pitmans, a revolutionary design. The *Washington* demonstrated its superiority to all other steamboats of that time on its maiden voyage to New Orleans in 1816, and thereafter its model was the prototype of nearly all the boats used on the Mississippi and Missouri. Hundreds of similar craft were soon plying the waters. In a single generation freight rates from New Orleans to St. Louis were reduced from \$1,000 a ton to \$40.

The first steamboat to reach St. Louis came up from New Orleans in July of 1817. It was the *Zebulon M. Pike*, a single boiler boat. It made the trip in one-fifth the regular keelboat time, and steamboating was here to stay. Two years later the *Independence* proved the Missouri River navigable by journeying from St. Louis to Chariton and return in twenty-one days. In the same year the *Western Engineer* accompanied Long's expedition to the upper Missouri, reaching a point 7 miles below Council Bluffs. This was one of the strangest vessels ever built. Its bow was shaped to resemble the head of a huge serpent, from whose gaping mouth issued smoke and flames, much to the terror of the Indians along the way.

Soon American "know-how" had provided fast, practical boats adapted to the streams they navigated. Immigrants moving west crowded their rails. Their lower decks groaned under produce from the farms and ore from the mines along the waterways. Streams which today seem incapable of floating a rowboat once knew the familiar sound of the steamboat whistle. Though they lacked the trim beauty of the larger ocean-going craft of the day, the steamboats were none the less handsome in their way. Many of the larger ones were fitted out with remarkable luxury. Their saloons sported crystal chandeliers, handsomely carved furniture, paintings and fine carpets; the cabins were spotless; a ship's band provided music. Their dining tables were beautifully set with the finest china, often specially designed for the boat, and massive silver. Drinks were served in sparkling,

heavy glasses with flaring bases. Elaborately folded linen napkins were a point of pride. Fresh foods were taken aboard frequently, and the menus set a standard probably never equalled since. On each trip the pastry cook would plan a surprise for the passengers. One such surprise consisted of setting thirteen different, elaborate desserts before each guest at the end of a particularly hearty meal. The boat steward, as was natural under these conditions, was considered of almost equal importance to the captain, and often was paid as much. The captains were individualists, of many and divergent backgrounds. Captain Casa B. Green was a God-fearing Methodist minister; Tom Cushing had been a well-known opera singer in New York; Ageston Haraszythy, who commanded the *Rock*



*from the Steamboat "Dubuque"*

*River*, was a political refugee and a Count in his own right.

Many who had learned the river as keelboatmen became pilots on the steamboats, and their knowledge was invaluable. Since the river was constantly changing its course, maps were never reliable; the pilot had to know every bend, sandbar, and snag along the way, by night or day, in fog or in storm. He was responsible for the safety of the boat, the passengers, and the cargo. The pilot was consequently paid quite fabulous wages, and many of them became popular idols, as movie stars and baseball heroes do today. Some even sported specially designed clothes, such as pants with a map of the river woven in the fabric. Again like our modern sports heroes, the pilots were frequently known by descriptive nick-names. One very tall pilot with a long beard was known the length of the river as Swamp Angel; another was dubbed Tackhammer, from his manner of expectorating. A man who paced the

deck in moments of stress was called Caged Lion. Still another earned the title Chief-Rain-in-the-Face, because he insisted upon sleeping in an Indian tepee back of the pilot house. The skill of the pilots was a blend of photographic memory, real understanding of weather and river signs, and superstition. The color of the water and the pattern of each ripple had its meaning to the pilot. Wind from the east meant rain; when the wheel became sticky in early evening it was a sure sign of fog before morning. To start the year's journey on a Friday brought bad luck for the entire season.

Every operation on a steamboat was done to the song of a leader, the crew working in rhythm and joining in the chorus. On one boat, whenever they left a wharf, a Negro would stand in the fore-castle waving a small flag, and singing:

*She's a bully boat, she's got a bully crew  
And a bully captain too.  
Let her go! Our work is done;  
And now we'll rest and see her run.*

An old riverman describes the scene at a wharf. "The palatial steamer, obeying every turn of the wheel like a thing of life, with a band of music and flags flying" would dance up to the landing to deposit her way-freight and passengers, "then out and away again, like a bird of passage, leaving behind her a surging, boiling passageway."

The passengers were of every class and walk of life. On nearly every trip there would be one of the professional gamblers about whom legend grew. They were usually consummate actors, handsomely dressed and immaculately groomed, with a tradition of gentlemanly behavior, and their own strict code of honor. On most of the boats they were permitted to ply their trade without interference, though an occasional God-fearing captain would forbid gambling, just as a rare few did not sell liquor or run their boats on Sunday.

By the early 1850's "show boats" were plying the river, floating theatres where river towns were first introduced to the sorrows of Little Eva, or the histrionics of Hamlet. Medicine men, with their spiels and lively entertainment, provided balms for all ills. River cities received the great or the notorious visitor with a water pageantry of music, flags, cannon salutes, and the graceful movements of escorting vessels. Excursion parties found relaxation on trips to the falls of St. Anthony, viewing in luxury the upper river world which was only then emerging from Indian days, but which had already become





NATCHEZ CHIEF AND SQUAW

*These two carved figures (ca. 1850) decorated the saloon of the Steamboat "Natchez" of 1869. From the Louisiana State Museum*



CAPTAIN  
ISAIAH SELLERS'  
MONUMENT,

Bellefontaine  
Cemetery, St. Louis

*Captain Sellers was one of the oldest and most highly respected pilots on the Mississippi. He contributed to the New Orleans Picayune under the pseudonym of "Mark Twain," which was later adopted by a young admirer of Sellers—Samuel L. Clemens, after the former's death in 1864.*

a romantic theme in poetry and art; or they journeyed to Louisville, or floated downstream to exotic New Orleans.

There was considerable competition among the many boats for both passengers and freight. Success naturally depended largely upon the pilot's reputation for safety, but speed was also of great importance. Designers were constantly on the alert to improve the boats' potential speed. The fastest craft on the river was the *J. M. White II*, built at Elizabeth, Pennsylvania, and owned by St. Louisans. On her maiden voyage from New Orleans to St. Louis in 1844, piloted by the famed Isaiah Sellers, she broke all records, making the trip in three days, twenty-three hours, and nine minutes. It is doubtful if her speed, under comparable mileage and fueling conditions, has ever been bettered, even by the *Robert E. Lee* in its famous race with the *Natchez* in 1870. Captain Sellers, who taught Mark Twain much of his river lore, became a legend on the river even during his own lifetime.

Steamboat races were popular sport, and were both colorful and exciting, though they resulted in the frequent loss of both lives and boats. In order to gain speed in a race the safety valves were held down, and all too often the boiler exploded. Snags and sand bars took their toll of ships also. In 1873 John A. Scudder testified before a Senate Committee that five thousand boats lay sunken between St. Louis and Cairo alone. Probably the worst steamboat disaster ever to occur on the Missouri was the explosion of the *Saluda*, carrying two hundred and fifty Mormon passengers, near Lexington, Missouri, in 1852. Only one hundred of the passengers were ever accounted for after the calamity.

During the Civil War the river was used for moving troops, and for hospital ships and transports organized and directed by General Charles Parsons, in cooperation with United States army and naval officers. Through herculean effort, the river was opened to the sea, and iron-clad fighting ships, made in the St. Louis shipyards under the supervision of Captain James B. Eads, passed down the river. Captain Eads, who was without any formal training, also evolved techniques for raising sunken craft for salvage purposes, and constructed the South Pass jetties below New Orleans, which preserved the city as an ocean port. In 1874, his bridge across the Mississippi, with its long, graceful spans, was completed, marking the close of the golden age of steamboating.





J. L. Bouquet de Woiseri: NEW ORLEANS IN 1803 (water color)

From the collection of the Mariners' Museum

# Mississippi Panorama

*The life and landscape of the Valley as seen by contemporary artists*

By PERRY T. RATHBONE

DIRECTOR, City Art Museum of St. Louis

IN NEW ORLEANS on a November day in 1803, J. L. Bouquet de Woiseri, a self-styled "designer, drawer, geographer and engineer," sketched out a long narrow strip of a picture. It was just the shape to accommodate his subject, a panoramic view of the capital of Louisiana stretched in a crescent curve on the sea level banks of the Mississippi. Then he carefully painted each lofty tower, roof top and dormer window of the little city basking in the sultry warmth of the South, and fringed it with the seagoing vessels and up river craft docked at the long water front. It was the first of innumerable topographic views of the young settlements along the Father of Waters that would occupy artists for a century. And the painting would not be otherwise remarkable had Bouquet de Woiseri been satisfied alone with what he saw. That which he was inspired to add from his mind's eye was extraordinary. High above the city across the whole expanse of sky he unfurled a waving star-decked ribbon clutched at the center by a flying eagle and bearing the legend, "Under My Wings Every Thing Prospers." Bouquet de Woiseri's painting was,

of course, political in its meaning, for it symbolized with jubilation the end of Spanish autocracy and French inconstancy that came with the Louisiana Purchase and the transfer of the colony to the democratic rule of the United States. And to make sure his sentiments were understood, Bouquet de Woiseri enlivened his view of the old French town with not one, but two American flags



## "Mississippi Panorama"

When the City Art Museum of St. Louis arranged a great exhibition of paintings depicting the life of the Mississippi-Missouri Valley, its lavishly illustrated catalog quickly became a collector's item. Expanded and revised, a new cloth bound edition is now in press, and will be distributed by the City Art Museum, through the Caledonia Press of St. Louis, in September. Illustrations accompanying the articles in this issue are drawn from the exhibit, through the courtesy of the Museum. EDITOR

stretched to the breeze, and dedicated to President Thomas Jefferson the engraved reproduction of the painting that he promptly prepared for the market. The painting is also significant as the starting point of our story, for the art of the Mississippi commences with the American settlement of the valley. Likewise a keynote to the art the Mississippi produced is provided in Bouquet de Woiseri's factual delineation of New Orleans. This approach, handed from artist to artist, was not to change for a century.

At the end of the story stands another painting, *Bald Eagle* bearing the date 1905, by the St. Louis artist, Frederick Oakes Sylvester. It too may be accepted as a symbol, designating the close of the century-long era during which the Mississippi was a never-failing source of wonder and inspiration to native and European artist alike. No riverscape of the nineteenth century could offer greater contrast to Bouquet de Woiseri's meticulous delineation of New Orleans: the harbor city is as factual a record as the artist could produce; Sylvester's intention was to create a poetic mood. One



picture, if you will, was made to be examined, the other, to be contemplated. Sylvester's painting is a mist-shrouded night scene in tones of blue; it is vague and Whistlerian to a degree. No life troubles the quiet waters save a lonesome river boat whose running light glimmers in the distance. That single light in itself is significant, a melancholy emblem that the steamboat pageantry of the great age had gone. With it the artist departed from the river, not only because the Mississippi ceased to be the broad and busy highway of the inland nation that it was for decades, but also because the artist's work of depicting it was done; his reportorial eye was robbed of its function by the photographic lens. For a century, while the river remained a teeming avenue of commerce and travel, it was ever-present in the minds of those who saw it and in the imagination of the rest of the nation who heard about it and felt its prodigious influence. The artist supplied the insatiable demand for its image, an image that was realistic by intention, and picturesque, even at times glamorous, by reason of the subject itself. The rapid growth of swifter overland travel and the development of photography changed all that. The vast riverways of the Mississippi and its tributaries became incidental to continental travel and commerce whereas it formerly had been supreme; the camera usurped the once indispensable role of the artist as reporter and recorder. By the first centenary of the Louisiana Purchase the national mind had turned to other interests, the artist to other ways of seeing.

Sylvester, of course, was an impressionist, painting in the idiom of his day. But the significant fact for us is not his mode of expression, but his approach to painting. His exclusive interest was in the poetry of the river, the majesty of its watery expanses and towering bluffs. Its prosy aspects interested him not at all; nor would



BALD EAGLE  
by Frederic Oakes Sylvester  
*From the Noonan-Kocian Galleries, St. Louis*



THE RIVER'S GOLDEN DREAM  
*From the collection of the City Art Museum*

they have caught the fancy of his admirers who expected other things of art. His quiet scenes are unpeopled, untouched by city or village. *The River's Golden Dream* as he called one of his paintings, is a transcendental reverie. His aim, like that of all his artistic generation, was esthetic, not informative.

Not so with Bouquet de Woiseri and his multifarious and busy successors. They were explorers, recorders, and reporters first of all, as thrilled and excited by what they saw as any new traveler in a foreign land. They had neither the time nor the inclination to dream, but only to sketch and paint as accurately as they could every burgeoning town and village, every raft and keelboat, the endless banks and bluffs, the flora and fauna of the new inland waterway which had no equal in the world. The painters of the Mississippi were factual-minded, eager to preserve the visual experience of the life and landscape of the river even as it changed before their eyes. And while their activity paralleled the rising tide of romanticism in literature and art, the poetry and romance that speaks from nearly every picture they created was not so much the invention of the artist as it was inherent in the life they portrayed.

Who were the artists that created this panoramic record for a hundred years? Who were the men that fastened their gaze on all the living aspects of the great river and recreated them with brush and pencil? It is too early to deliver a definitive answer, and in this survey we must rely, for the most part, on the best known of them. At least four are renowned: Audubon, Bingham, Bodmer and Catlin; seven others, Richard Clague, Seth Eastman, Henry Lewis, J. R. Meeker, W. A. Walker, J. C. Wild and Charles Wimar, are familiar to students of history, art and anthropology. Enough of the work of their lesser brethren has been preserved and recorded to in-



dicade that they were a numerous kind, to say the least. It is well known that the contemporary writers on the subject were legion, and their works have been published and republished, indexed, annotated and commented upon. The Rev. Timothy Flint, one of the most indefatigable travelers of the valley in the first quarter of the century, wrote in 1826, "There are such showers of journals, and travels and residences, and geographies and gazeteers; and every person, who can in any way fasten the members of a sentence together, after having traveled through a country, is so sure to begin to scribble about it, that I have felt a kind of awkward consciousness at the thought of starting in the same beaten track." Even though the English writer, Mrs. Jameson, could note in 1837 that "the country seemed to swarm with painters," the pictorial record can hardly match the written in extent; but just as the literary record is surprisingly large, so is the visual record more copious than one would suspect.

Of the painters of the Mississippi and Missouri whose achievement is established and widely known, only one, Richard Clague of New Orleans, was a native of the valley. Indeed, of the eleven artists referred to above, six alone were born in America. While this fact is to be expected amongst the earlier painters who were carried into the valley in the endless stream of immigration following the Louisiana Purchase—sometimes as children as in the case of Bingham and Wimar—it is surprising that no artist of more than local reputation, save Clague, in the second half of the century was born amidst the scenes he painted. While, nevertheless, not a few of those who painted the great rivers could call the valley their home, some artists were only brief visitors at one river town or another; others like Audubon, Catlin and Bodmer were drawn to the Mississippi and Missouri, not to settle there, but for the sole purpose



WOOD IBIS  
Copper plate engraving, colored  
by John James Audubon  
From the collection of Arthur Hoskins

BAYOU TECHE  
Oil, by Joseph Rusling Meeker  
From the collection of The City Art Museum



of traveling the length of them, exploring and recording their shores of swamp and prairie, forest and mountain, and the birds and beasts and Indians that lived in them.

In a study of the procession of artists who made of the great river valleys a chief dominion of their activity, one fact stands out: the most distinguished and widely known of them were in pursuit of some particular aspect of the life that flourished there. And their fame, without doubt, rests in large part upon the steadfastness of that pursuit and the consistency of the subject paintings that it yielded. In the light of our present knowledge, we can say that these river artists number twelve, from the most famous as well as the earliest, John James Audubon, the naturalist, to August Norieri of New Orleans, who was not only amongst the last of the river painters and one who has remained in obscurity, but who also, strange to say, almost alone concerned himself with the most glamorous man-made feature of the river, the steamboat. Most numerous of the twelve were the painters of Indians; George Catlin, Seth Eastman, Charles Bodmer, and Charles Wimar. Second in number to them were the painters of landscapes and towns: John Casper Wild and Henry Lewis (the mid-century artists of St. Louis), and Richard Clague of Louisiana, who was working into the 'seventies. Related to them in his interest was Joseph Rusling Meeker whose imagination, though he lived in St. Louis, never ceased to dwell upon the desolate swamps and bayous of Louisiana. William Aikin Walker, who lived well into the twentieth century, found enduring satisfaction in painting the Negro life of the cotton domain on Louisiana plantation and New Orleans levee. But without question, the greatest artist of them all was George Caleb Bingham of Missouri who in large measure devoted his wonderful gift to painting that prodigious species





INDIANS APPROACHING FORT BENTON

Oil, by Charles Wimar

*From the collection of Washington University*

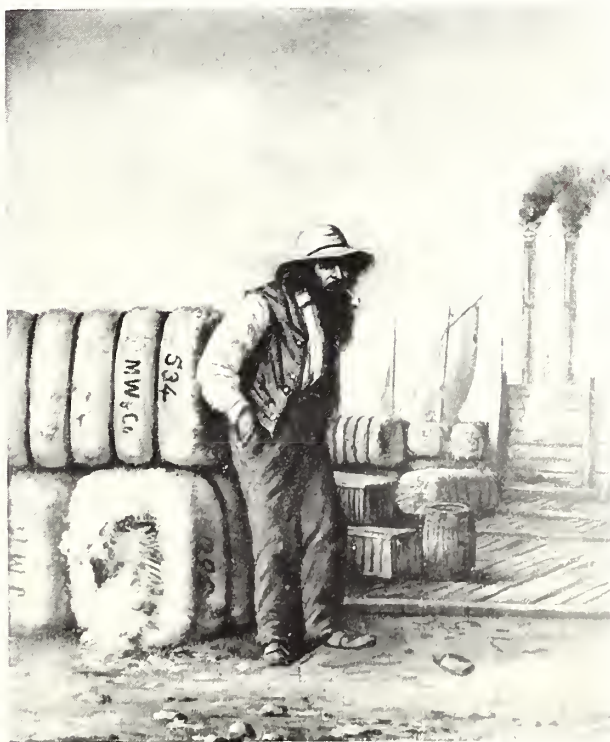
MISSISSIPPI BOATMAN, NEW ORLEANS LEVEE

Oil, by William Aiken Walker

*From the collection of W. E. Grover*

of man, the boatman, of whom Timothy Flint was moved to say, "when the warmth of whiskey in his stomach is added to his natural energy, he becomes in succession, horse, alligator, and steamboat.

In looking back over the whole panorama of the life and landscape of the Mississippi and Missouri in the nineteenth century one is impressed by how very much of that wonderful and far-flung spectacle bore the mark of the white man's rapid settlement and exploitation of the rivers and their fabulous valleys, from the weathered palings of Fort Benton to the brick and stucco urbanity of New Orleans, a distance of some four thousand miles by water. We are amazed that such changes could have taken place in the eighty years that followed the somewhat exaggerated, but nevertheless indicative, estimate of Senator Benton and William Clark in 1820 that the Mississippi Valley had fifty thousand miles of boatable waters. This circumstance and the development it gave rise to had an immeasurable effect



upon the economic life of America and the expansion of the nation westward. It also brought into being the artists' contribution of the image of that expanding life. But that which more deeply excited the imagination of America, indeed of the western world, was the last frontier of wilderness that remained to it, a wilderness through which the rivers flowed. And our thoughts go back to the artist-explorer who, like all the painters of the early age, knew and loved the wilderness—captured its nature for the civilized world in word and picture. Our thoughts inevitably return to Audubon, the model of that artist who in later years, reflecting upon his experience on the frontier wrote "... I sit on a grassy bank, gazing at the glittering waters. Around me are dense forests of lofty trees and thickly tangled undergrowth, amid which are heard the songs of feathered choristers, and from whose boughs hang clusters of glowing fruits and beautiful flowers. Reader, I am very happy."



TODAY one of the great collecting interests is American primitives. That is the name almost everybody uses to describe two separate and distinct phenomena in our early 19th century scene. Hundreds of thousands of portraits—cheap portraits—were painted by good, medium, fair and poor painters on a mass production basis in an effort to convert the luxury of a portrait by a professional painter into a staple that almost anybody could buy. It is well known that certain famous painters had factories for the production of Washington portraits. This is borne out by contemporaneous comments. The second, third and fourth-rate painters, some of them with less than two weeks instruction, went out peddling portrait art, and they painted just anybody for almost any price they could get.

The second phenomenon was a nation-wide interest in amateur art. Just everybody, from children through to grandparents, made pencil sketches, painted watercolors, painted oils, made stencil pictures, and made use of every conceivable device they could find in instruction books or learn about from itinerant instructors. They may not have painted portraits but they painted something even more interesting . . . they painted story-telling pictures—landscapes and views of farms, places and towns. To call this primitive is to give it classification with the primitives of Europe, which are not amateurish but merely the work of early painters. This is really pioneering art or pioneering in art, and something very important happened because of it. We developed not only several schools of art marked by a good company of now well-known and famous artists, we also developed many masterpieces by nobodies.

Hitchcock chairs—turned, saw-shaped, finished, paint-decorated freehand and by stencil, rush-bottomed. Are they folk art? Pish and tush! They are mass production applied to the conversion of the luxury of a Sheraton fancy chair, costing from ten to twenty-five dollars, to a staple anybody could buy for as little as one dollar each. Are these the first effort at mass production of chairs? By no means. Slat-backs and Windsors were made by the parts assembly method from the early 1700's. It was a New York State man who remarked we had a scarcity of laboring hands and yet could readily get a living from a generous land. So we thought to produce by better methods—by machinery—by a division of labor.

If you would like to be misunderstood

## Luxuries INTO Staples: II

CARL DREPPERD

*concludes his observations on the "folk" arts*

someday, accost a stranger while on a railroad journey and say, "Railroad building started in New York State." Your hearer, a thousand to one, will think you mean the DeWitt Clinton locomotive and its first little brigade of cars. But you shouldn't be meaning that at all. You had a man in New York named Burden. He invented a machine that banged out horseshoes at one punch of a die. He is the man who made American railroad building possible. There was money and venture-risk capital no end to finance the building. There was popular demand for railroads. There was no dearth of iron rails, or tie timber and ballast stone. Yet building lagged, it was slower than a snail's pace. *Why?* Every spike that held the rails to the ties was made by hand by a blacksmith . . . one at a time. So what did Mr. Burden do? He invented a machine that banged out perfect, all-alike railroad spikes faster than fifty blacksmiths and their helpers could make them. And when Burden made spikes, railroad building moved at high speed. The Burden spike mill should be in the exposition building of American railroads whenever they show their stuff to the public. Oh, yes, those Burden spikes were made at a place called Troy, New York. Whoever collects early American industrial material had better hunt for early Burden railroad spikes. They are a pioneering effort to convert a luxury into a staple.

Anything costly, rich, rare or unique is a luxury. Replicas are staples. Not until Mr. Eastman made Kodaks were cameras made staples. It may be unnecessary to point out that forever and ever the conversion of a luxury into a staple is loaded . . . and I do mean loaded . . . with something else—common wealth creation. Melodion production, Venetian blinds, cast iron stoves, and anything else cast from a pattern instead of being wrought one at a time by hand.

To say that mass production is a new thing in world history is, of course, a great error. Every ancient coin proves that error . . . anything from the cheap Egyptian Ashibdes and scarabs, cast of

clay in molds and fired with glaze, everything cast in bronze or iron, everything die-stamped—was mass-produced. It was endless duplication. The only original was the die or pattern. Pressed glass is two thousand or more years older than Deming Jarves. Mold-blown glass is older by three thousand years than Pittsburgh. Casting in copper and bronze from standard patterns may be five thousand years older than Paul Revere. The names of Fletcher and Boyer took on real significance when the making of arrows (fleches) was a mass production job by Fletchers, and the making of bows a similar task by the Boyers, or Bow-yers.

The American department store was an idea born in our typical cross-roads stores. Fuller brushes and Wearever aluminum dug into our peddlers' history for their modern sales methods. The Pattisons of Berlin, Connecticut, mass-produced tinware before the Revolution. Eli Terry mass-produced clocks; Whitney mass-produced rifles . . . the metallic parts, that is. But every stock had to be hand sawn, shaped and molded . . . of white or black walnut or some other hard wood. Hold your hats. Here we go again. Mr. Blanchard invented a gun-stock lathe. It turned any irregular shape from a master pattern. Only gun-stocks? Ha! You guessed it! Decoy ducks, shoe lasts, woodenware, and even bust statues. Hundreds of busts of Daniel Webster and other notables were turned on the Blanchard lathe, of all kinds of wood. We may think they are hand carved, or folk art. They are mass production items that are one with Sandwich pressed glass or molded "chalkware" . . . the latter another misnomered "folk art."

To call chalkware folk art, or to call "squeak toys" folk art, is to be fatuous. Take the luxury of Chinese elegancies in jade and porcelain . . . the figural and animalistic masterpiece. Take them to Staffordshire, make plaster casts and pour in some clay slip. Out comes a Staffordshire equivalent, mass-produced, but still costing a dollar or two. Recast the Staffordshire figures. Make plaster



molds. Soap the molds. Cast in plaster. Color the casts with the equivalent of Staffordshire colors . . . yellow paint for gold, and any other green, red, violet, or what, in imitation of the original. Now we have reduced the luxury to its least common denominator—a staple for the poorest home. Pennsylvania German chalkware is an even bigger joke . . . it isn't chalkware, it isn't Pennsylvania, and it isn't German. It is Chinese in philosophy, Staffordshire by adaption, and plaster cast and ornamented by Italian plaster workers. Of course, plenty of it is made today in the Lehigh Valley and sold as antique.

How about a Terry Pillar and Scroll clock? Mass production item number two in our clock parade. The first was a tall clock movement by the same mass producer. How about that engaging pioneer thing, a cast iron trivet for a sadiron? A precious few of these were hand wrought. Most housewives used a wooden block or an upturned broken plate until mass production by casting in iron brought trivets into staple profusion in so many patterns that collecting them is now great fun . . . and nobody will ever be able to say, "I have every one made."

How about the only furniture style ever mass-produced in its every aspect for the people? We persist in calling it Victorian, but is it? Actually, you can call it 19th century Chippendale and be closer to the mark. It is mass production of the very styles Chippendale copied for his Director . . . the French style of Louis XV. When this furniture style was introduced to the Hudson Valley it was so top-drawer it was almost hush-hush. Finally, it became lush, plush and elegant, everywhere. Its revival in France, about 1830, was sparked by a former New York City schoolteacher, Louis Philippe who, becoming the Citizen King of France, decreed that all Directoire and Empire styling should give way to a Louis XV revival. What did we call this furniture from 1830 to 1850? Antique . . . or French Antique!

The runner-up in mass production to this style was Empire. And its runner-up was Directoire. Meeks and Phyfe of New York pioneered in mass-producing Directoire and Empire furniture. Phyfe was a custom cabinetmaker for a while, but by 1820 he had a factory. Leave it or take it . . . but that's the way it was.

All of which goes to prove my basic point: what collectors collect today are relics of pioneering in the conversion of luxuries into staples. END.

## HISTORY *News*

from WILLIAM S. POWELL

TO THE CASUAL READER of America's newspapers 1949 surely appeared to have been an important anniversary year with such a large crop of centennials, semi-centennials, and the like clamoring for his attention. If he took note of last year's events what must be his reaction to this year's?

*"Time was . . ."*

Five important American cities have been in the news this year because of their anniversary plans. In Washington the City of Olympia staged a week-long centennial celebration in May. The old and the new were combined with the city taking on a festive dress and at the same time featuring historical displays in shop windows, surrey-fringed busses, and parades along with other attractions. In Detroit advance plans for the celebration of the city's 250th anniversary next year are attracting widespread attention. The Historical Society of Michigan is taking an active part in drawing up the general plans while a local committee is arranging for a "Festival of the Great Lakes" to highlight the celebration. Seattle, Washington, not to be outdone by other cities, has already begun planning the events to be staged next year in the celebration of her centennial and as a preliminary event staged a "Seafair" in August. In April the 100th anniversary of the incorporation of the City of San Francisco was noted by a special meeting of the Board of Supervisors of the city and the County in the First Schoolhouse, a replica of the old schoolhouse which is now a center of centennial interest. And in August San Diego opened a number of historical, artistic, and literary exhibits designed to call attention to the city's centennial.

The District of Columbia also is putting on a special show this year to mark the sesquicentennial of the establishment of the permanent capital of the United States. One of the main features was to be the "Freedom Fair," finally canceled in May after vast plans for a great ex-

position blew up. Early in the year a series of thirteen musical programs honored the original thirteen states. For the presentation of Paul Green's new symphonic drama, "Faith of Our Fathers," based on Washington's life after the Revolution, a permanent national memorial amphitheater has been constructed in Rock Creek Park. The Corcoran Gallery of Art has gathered from all over the Nation a collection of historical art covering the whole span of American history through the Spanish-American War. Many of these works are privately owned and have rarely if ever been publicly exhibited. In as many cases as possible officials of the gallery selected paintings made at or very near the time of the scene depicted and declined to show those with only the artist's imagination for authority. A full schedule of events covering the period from mid-April through the post-Christmas season fills Washington's calendar for 1950.

Indiana this year has been marking the 150th anniversary of the establishment of the Territory of Indiana. A sesquicentennial commission has directed the celebration endeavoring to make it an educational event rather than an out-and-out birthday celebration. In declaring 1950 to be Indiana Territory Sesquicentennial year, the Governor of Indiana called upon the people of the State "to inform themselves of its meaning and to explore its significance, to mould its critical events into writing and drama for the instruction of the young, and to glorify the fruit of this pioneer endeavor to the end that Hoosiers of today and tomorrow shall take heart and preserve and enrich Indiana's exalted heritage."

A commemorative postage stamp has been issued. A traveling exhibit of Indiana documents and museum material is being taken through the countryside and into the towns and cities for four months and the Library of Congress has prepared a special exhibition of Indiana material. Feature articles on Indiana have appeared, or are scheduled for *Holiday Magazine* (August), *Antiques Magazine* (November), *American Heritage* (this issue). A number of museums and art galleries showed special displays of Indiana material. The State participated in a special celebration at Vincennes, July 1-4, to which the governors of states once a part of Indiana territory were invited. The Hoosier Historical Institutes, week-end tours of historic sites, were planned with special emphasis on Territorial spots. On December 9 the events of the year will be brought to a close



when the Society of Indiana Pioneers has the final program.

One of the Nation's outstanding celebrations has been taking place in California since 1948 and will draw to a close at the end of this year. It began in 1948, the 100th anniversary of the discovery of gold, continued the next year in commemoration of the gold rush days, and is being concluded this year, the centennial of California's statehood. The spring, 1950, issue of *American Heritage* carried several illustrated stories on California's history and the recent celebrations. These anniversaries have been celebrated in many ways at many places, but all have been under the general supervision of the California Centennials Commission. A number of colorful and interesting publications have been issued and the Library of Congress prepared a special exhibition which, after display in Washington, has been sent on a tour of the State. A great many local communities have sponsored various sorts of celebrations including parades, concerts and balls, contests and competitions, commemorative services, fashion shows, and special salutes to the area's leading industries.

*"Bring the mountain . . ."*

It isn't that the age of good roads has just arrived or that the value of a "traveling museum" has just been learned, but for some reason the practice of taking museum exhibits through the highways and the byways to the people has just begun to flourish. The Freedom Train undoubtedly was responsible in large measure for the growth and popularity of this idea.

Shortly after a visit of the national Freedom Train a State Freedom Train was made up in New York to duplicate where possible items on the original train so that more people could see them and to tell in detail the story of New York State's contributions to the growth of freedom.

The Nassau County Historical and Genealogical Society, Farmingdale, New York, with the cooperation of Mitchel Air Force Base and local veterans' and civic clubs, sponsored a "Freedom on Display" trailer in 1948 and 1949 which was seen by nearly 100,000 persons. Many of the documents on display were the originals while others were facsimiles or photocopies. Some items dealt with our national heritage while others were of purely local interest.

The North Carolina Department of Archives and History fitted out a new

trailer museum to display the French Gratitude Train gifts throughout the State after they had been exhibited in the Department's Hall of History. Visits have been scheduled through local schools, but the trailer museum is open to all the public. This year the trailer has toured the eastern counties of the State and was seen by 90,000 persons. Next year it will visit the west. It is planned eventually to use the trailer to carry various historical exhibits for display on special occasions as well as to create new interest in things historical.

The Illinois State Museum operates a "Museumobile" carrying twenty-two displays concerned chiefly with archaeology, anthropology, botany, geology, history, and zoology as these topics relate to Illinois. The museumobile visits every rural section of the State at least once every two years during the school term. In the summer months every other year it visits fairs, celebrations, hospitals, schools for the deaf and blind, orphanages, mental institutions, and prisons. Other summers it undergoes repairs and new exhibits are installed. The exhibits in the museumobile are not highly specialized and therefore they interest various groups of people. When school groups are visiting the museumobile at least one member of the State Museum staff is present to answer questions and to engage the students in conversation for the purpose of learning their interests and obtaining ideas for new exhibits.

A trailer museum is also fitted out by The Cleveland Museum of Natural History and co-sponsored by the *Cleveland Press*. Exhibits, composed of actual specimens of natural history material supplemented by maps, photographs, and drawings, are changed seasonally. Before

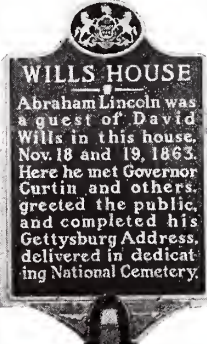
visitors go through the museum trailer the driver gives them a brief report on what they will see inside and they then pass quickly through the trailer to obtain an over-all view before returning for a second time to examine the exhibits at their leisure.

Related to this scheme of fitting out trailer museums is the plan of traveling exhibits which are shown in regular museums. The Library of Congress has recently prepared a number of exhibits marking special events in the history of various states. After being shown in Washington many of these exhibits are sent out to the States that they honor for display.

In Flint, Michigan, a branch of the American Association of University Women, through its Children's Museum Committee, is collecting artifacts representing Indian and pioneer life to form a traveling exhibit to be used in the local schools.

The southern California branch of the Antiquarian Bookdealers Association of America has prepared a touring exhibit for display in libraries throughout the state showing possible fields of collecting for those interested in California's history. Each of the fifty items displayed has a retail value of ten dollars or less and such subjects as industries, historic spots, literary figures, scenic wonders, cities and counties, and religious and educational institutions are covered.

The Brooklyn Museum in collaboration with the Wedgwood potteries prepared a special exhibit in 1948 covering 250 years of that firm's wares. This exhibit, which is still being displayed, has been shown in New York, California, Michigan, North Carolina, and elsewhere.



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## What Made Hoosiers Write?

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 27)

character was emerging, with traits derived from the geographical and population factors. He was rustic because of his closeness to the soil, but not socially crude. He was hospitable and friendly because of his Southern background, the abundance of nature, and his rural isolation. His neighborliness was founded on a strong belief in equality and his experience of pioneer co-operativeness, as well as his loneliness and ability to share. Poet Joseph D. Welsh noted this characteristic in his "Indiana Georgicks," published in 1839, and emphasized it with a footnote. The Hoosier was independent in thought and proud of it, because in a mixed political and religious atmosphere he had been forced to define his position and maintain it. George Ade said he was "a puzzling combination of shy provincial, unfettered democrat, and Fourth of July orator. He is a student by choice, a poet by sneaking inclination, and a story teller by reason of his nativity."

There was a kind of tolerance to be found in his sense of humor, because he had learned to get along with people who differed from him. With his humor he even punctured his own pride from time to time. The word "Hoosier" was originally an epithet of opprobrium, a fighting word to the native Indian. But in the last fifty years he has adopted it as his own label and now beats his chest and declares proudly that he's a Hoosier. There was the veteran of the Civil War home guard of Salem which was called out to stop Confederate General Morgan on his famous raid. He was proud of his military service as a youth. "What did you do when you saw Morgan's men ride down the hill into town?" he was asked. Honestly if ingloriously he replied: "I run like hell, jes' like ever'body else did!" Or take another Hoosier who on his one hundredth birthday was asked the inevitable question to what he attributed his longevity. He said he thought it was because "I always had sort of an aversion to hard work."

Despite his independence, the Hoosier was gregarious, a joiner of lodges, political parties, and clubs. Indianapolis is still the best market for fraternal jewelry in the U.S. Talk was the social medium, the common entertainment, and the democratic denominator open to all. Hoosier pride in his state took root early, after defeating the Indians, writing a constitution, laying out a capital in the wilder-

ness, and providing for a state university. By 1830 a group of citizens looked back proudly on their handiwork and decided to preserve the story of it by forming the Indiana Historical Society, the oldest continuous state historical society west of Pennsylvania.

There remains to be considered the opportunities that early Hoosier writers had to achieve publication. This factor alone is a powerful stimulus of the muse. Artistic creation, as Shucking points out in his little-known essay on *The Sociology of Literary Taste*, is not necessarily something that erupts, forcing its way out, but is dependent to a large degree upon recognition and encouragement. The literary center of the West was first Lexington, Kentucky, and then Cincinnati. Early Indiana was orientated around Cincinnati; Indianapolis having been placed in the geographical center of the state, it was on the northern fringe of population for a long time. The first literary periodical in the West was *The Medley*, a monthly begun at Lexington in 1803. It lasted hardly a year. Lexington tried again in 1819 with the *Western Review*, a monthly that survived for about two years. The monthly *Western Censor* was started in Indianapolis in 1823 and lasted a little more than a year.

Then Cincinnati assumed literary leadership in more ways than one. It entertained authors like Dickens, Mrs. Trollope, and Harriet Martineau, and produced its own. Its publishing offices turned out books as well as periodicals. The *Literary Gazette* was a weekly of 1824. The *Western Review* was a new monthly started in 1827 which ran for four years. It was followed in 1831 by the semi-monthly *Cincinnati Mirror*, which lasted till 1836. James Hall edited the *Western Monthly Magazine* from 1833 to 1837. Prof. Ralph L. Rusk calls it the most important magazine on the frontier. The *Western Messenger*, a monthly devoted to religion and literature, began in 1835 and ran for six years. In 1841 the famous *Ladies' Repository* was started and continued for the next thirty-five years. All of these periodicals invited contributions of poetry, essays, and moral fiction. Whether they paid little or anything, the ambitious editors provided a vehicle for many an aspiring author—without competition from the superior talents of New England.

Anthologies were another outlet. W. D. Gallagher of Cincinnati issued the first anthology of Western poetry in 1841 in his *Selections from the Poetical*

*Literature of the West*. Thirty-eight writers were represented, of which three were from Indiana. When W. T. Coggeshall published his *Poets and Poetry of the West* at Columbus in 1860, he drew on 152 writers. Thirty-six were residents of Indiana or had been born here.

Printing in Indiana began at Vincennes in 1804. For the first few years it was confined largely to legal, Masonic, and denominational pamphlets and volumes. The first literary work in the state was ventured by two printers in Salem in 1818. It was an anonymous *Life of Bonaparte*, probably reprinted from an earlier Philadelphia edition. The next literary work to come from an Indiana press was a local edition of Joel Barlow's *Vision of Columbus* in 1824; its popularity in the West was exceeded only by the works of Scott and Byron, according to Prof. Ralph L. Rusk. Thereafter local printers began to take risks on local authors.

The influence of the New Harmony experiment on literary production in the state is difficult to analyze. Robert Dale Owen later described the colonists as a "heterogeneous collection of radicals, enthusiastic devotees of principle, honest latitudinarians and lazy theorists." Nevertheless, there were a few talented men who could write—the Owens, Maclure, Say, Josiah Warren—and certain dissenters from the experiment who vented their spleen in print. These invaders of the state were by no means typical; they were regarded as queer, godless, and even ridiculous by the ordinary Hoosier. Still, they provided a yeast. They had ideas and intellectual curiosity; they showed that they valued self-expression and the printed word; they had their own press. All this was stimulating, and some of the leaders stayed on in Indiana. The New Harmony press turned out some respectable pamphlets in the 1830's and 1840's.

Of course, Indiana was not isolated from the national temper. Indeed, Hoosiers were more cognizant of the East before the Civil War than the East was of Indiana. Undoubtedly the "flowering of New England" had some effect in stirring the creative impulse in Indiana. At least the Eastern writers were considered to have failed in attempting to picture frontier scenes. The ferment of reform nationally, 1830 to 1850, in the fields of antislavery, temperance, benevolence, women's rights, industrial working conditions, penology, revival religion, etc., as well as a rash of fads, like phrenology, health foods, Greek Revival architecture, co-operative living schemes, and cure-



alls was felt in the West. This was the great era when men had limitless faith in their ability to improve society; Utopia was just around the corner. "Internal improvements" was the cry of the politicians, and Indiana embarked on a ten-million-dollar program in 1836 when the state revenues amounted to \$50,000 a year. Along with others, Van Wyck Brooks has observed that "there is a vital connection between the phenomenon of literary energy and the phenomenon of human belief in the possibilities of the individual man." Indiana believed it had emerged from the wilderness and created a respectable culture. The West regarded the Eastern literary lights with some envy and impatience, complaining that the literature of the Ohio Valley was being ignored in the East. Hoosiers began to flex their cultural muscles self-consciously.

Altogether these multiple factors—the geography of the state, the mixture of inhabitants, the emergence of an articulate Hoosier, the development of a rich language, the temptation of literary clubs and periodicals, the New Harmony stimulation, the example of New England's literary output, the faith in progress, the hospitality of the nation to new ideas—all these prepared Indianans for a literary splurge. Had it not been for the Civil War, the movement probably would have blossomed earlier.

### III

Once a few Hoosiers began to achieve success in writing, momentum gathered rapidly because of the number of latent writers who simply needed the spur of an example. Some took up their pens to attack the picture of Hoosierdom presented by Edward Eggleston in 1871. A few tried to follow the pattern of historical fiction set by Lew Wallace in *The Fair God* (1873) and *Ben Hur* (1880). But it was Riley who unloosed a horde of imitators. His poems began to appear in newspapers in 1877, and his first book, *The Old Swimmin' Hole and 'Leven More Poems*, went through two editions in 1883. He seemed to demonstrate that an education was not necessary for writing and that homely subjects were fit topics for poetry. All the stored up observations on domestic life and nature were poured out in rustic bad verse by unsuspected harborers of the muse—not merely housewives and farmers, but lawyers, bankers, physicians, teachers, and ministers.

There is something to be said about

the interchangeability of the arts. Persons with talent in one field often have some competence in another. Men who might have developed their aptitude for music or painting turned to writing instead, because they saw their friends doing it and achieving success. "If Jim Riley can make money writing poems like that, then by golly I can!"

Immediately more outlets were provided than the periodicals and daily press. A new crop of literary societies were organized, male as well as female, not to listen to outsiders but to hear papers written by members. And they did not meet just once a month, with a long summer recess. The Indianapolis Literary Club, a men's organization that is still flourishing, was founded in 1877 and meets weekly. The Terre Haute Literary Club, also for men, was established in 1881. The Ouiatenon Club was formed at Crawfordsville ("the Hoosier Athens") in 1883. Thirty-seven women's literary clubs that were organized before 1890 are still going.

Another curious development was the organization of the Western Association of Writers at Indianapolis in 1886. Although writers in other states were eligible for membership, it was monopolized by Hoosiers, mainly on the level of those who contributed verse to newspapers. But Riley, Nicholson, Catherwood, Thompson, Wallace, Major, and Tarkington were early members. The Association held annual meetings, but these gatherings of fifty to one hundred members became week-long literary festivals at a lake resort in June. Members read their own effusions and listened in turn to others. They met and conversed in smaller groups. Regardless of the quality of the programs, the stimulation to the writers of this fellowship was as great as life at Brook Farm to its select clientele. The Western Association lasted about twenty years.

Something else was happening, too. In 1890 the center of population of the United States was found to be in eastern Indiana. That mythical center has moved slowly across the state in succeeding decades, but is still within Hoosierdom. Indiana elections were going the way of national elections. The state began to be cited as a reliable average or as a barometer of national temperatures. Hoosiers developed a sense of their own typicalness, a feeling that here was an area of real Americans. It reinforced their state pride, and one effect was a boosting spirit toward their own writers.

A final aspect of the momentum was that the second printing of Riley's first book in 1883 marked the first venture into publishing of the Merrill, Meigs and Company book store of Indianapolis. In 1885 the company absorbed another book store and became the Bowen-Merrill Company, publishers as well as book sellers. In 1898 the name was changed to Bobbs-Merrill, and it became exclusively a publishing house in 1910. The existence of a publishing company in Indiana that could market its products nationally was a great stimulus to Indiana writers, and employees of the firm kept an eye out for budding local authors. It was a Bowen-Merrill salesman who brought in a manuscript from a Shelbyville attorney named Charles Major. *When Knighthood was in Flower* appeared in 1898, and it became a best-seller for fourteen consecutive months. Riley remained a Bobbs-Merrill property, and Tarkington and Mrs. Porter started with them.

The momentum of Indiana literary production appears to have slackened in the last fifteen years. Possibly a depression and a war have interfered, and the authors whose names were household words in the first three decades of this century are no longer living. The stimuli that affected the earlier generations of writers are no longer effective. Although the geography is the same, the wilderness is gone and that great leveller, industrialism, is increasing. The newspapers give less space to literary contributions than they used to, although each Indianapolis daily prints such a column; the regional periodicals are gone or have become academic. Language differences have been ironed out by the free public school system. Faster and more widely accessible means of communication and travel have depleted the distinctiveness of Hoosier life; it conforms more and more to the pattern of life nationally. A noticeable amount of ancestor-worship prevails among readers; the two houses in which Riley lived and Mrs. Porter's two sylvan retreats are preserved as memorials, and the former homes of Eggleston, Wallace, Moody, Ade, and Tarkington are pointed out to visitors. Whether the "crop" of popular writers is giving out is uncertain, but the soil seems to have lost some of its fertility, although the Indiana State Federation of Poetry Clubs had a membership of 250 active poets in 1948. Perhaps the taste of the rest of the country no longer conforms to the fare that is offered or could be offered by more recent Hoosier authors.



DONALD SHEEHAN'S *The Making of American History* (N. Y.: Dryden Press; \$2.40 per volume) is a two-volume work. It adds another, and a different, work to our rapidly expanding list of anthologies in American history. The significance of Mr. Sheehan's work, it seems to this writer, is three-fold: his choice of a few long selections rather than many short ones; his reliance upon outstanding secondary works rather than upon primary sources; and the excellence of both selection and arrangement.

Volume one contains selections from the writings of Charles M. Andrews, Francis Parkman, George Louis Beer, Carl Becker, Charles A. Beard, Henry Adams, Frederick Jackson Turner, James Parton, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Ulrich B. Phillips, Marcus Lee Hansen, John R. Commons and Howard K. Beale.

Volume two, subtitled "Democracy in an Industrial World," is drawn from the following top-notch historians: Vernon Louis Parrington, William Archibald Dunning, Allen Nevins, Walter Prescott Webb, Ida M. Tarbell, Henry David, Julius W. Pratt, John D. Hicks, Henry F. Pringle, Frederick Lewis Allen, the Lynds, the Beards, and Robert E. Sherwood.

The third volume of Irving Brant's impressive and nearly definitive life of our fourth President, is titled *James Madison, Father of the Constitution, 1787-1800* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill; \$6.00). This was the period of economic confusion and the making of a new constitution, of the struggle over its ratification and the establishment of the new government, the creation of political parties, the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, and the collapse of Federalism.

Mr. Brant has done an impressive job, and no review of less than essay length could do justice to it. It should at least be said, however, that the author has destroyed a half dozen or so long-held views, has fully established Madison's claim to powerful leadership, and has greatly increased the latter's status. In fact, Mr. Brant does an excellent job of convincing, at least with this reader, that in some ways and at some times Madison thought more clearly and even maneuvered more effectively than Jefferson himself. Madison's often dominant role in the establishment of the Republican party and his responsibility in connection

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Edited by RALPH ADAMS BROWN

with the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions are established for the first time.

Basil Rauch is rapidly establishing himself as one of the, if not *the*, top historians of the 1930's and '40's. His recently published *Roosevelt, From Munich to Pearl Harbor* (N. Y.: Creative Age Pr.; \$4.50), subtitled "A Study in the Creation of a Foreign Policy," is a controversial treatment of a very controversial problem. It is a book that packs a wallop on every page, and at least one knockdown in every chapter. To the satisfaction of this reader, Dr. Rauch demonstrates that the thesis of the late Dr. Charles A. Beard, and some others, to the effect that F. D. R. plotted to carry the United States into World War II, "is based on omissions, distortions, and falsifications."

Not all readers will accept the author's reasoning, but none should fail to consider it carefully.

Charles A. Madison, whose *Critics and Crusaders* (N. Y.: Henry Holt; \$3.50) was hailed, some three years ago, as a brilliant collection of biographical essays on radical and liberal leaders in American history, has now written a somewhat comparable volume in the field of labor. His *American Labor Leaders; Personalities and Forces in the Labor Movement* (N. Y.: Harper; \$4.00) is a collection of essays on sixteen trade union leaders, stretching in point of time from William H. Silvis of the 1860's to several whose careers are now at full tide, ranging in philosophy from Uriah Stephens to Harry Bridges. The essays are grouped under four headings: Labor's early efforts, The American Federation of Labor, Aristocrats and Revolutionaries, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

This is not only a stimulating, liberal presentation, but it comes in an area which has been so largely neglected that few but the largest libraries will have material on several of the subjects of Mr. Madison's essays. This volume should have a wide sale, especially for school and public libraries, and its influ-

ence should be much greater than the number of copies sold.

Active in historical organizations within his own state—New Jersey—Richard P. McCormick has been an effective supporter of the work of the American Association for State and Local History. He has also been the first to offer a college-level course devoted exclusively to the history of New Jersey. His recently published *Experiment in Independence; New Jersey in the Critical Period, 1781-1789* (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Pr.; \$4.00) makes a significant contribution to the history of that state as well as to our understanding of those years of decision that came between Revolution and Constitution. Those scholars and laymen who have thought of the years 1783 to 1787 as a period of futility and frustration will be impressed with the record of solid, constructive effort and accomplishment which the author establishes for New Jersey during this time.

### Notable Work of Fiction

The story of the Pilgrim Fathers has been told often, in prose and poetry and song. But seldom has it been told as well as by a young Irish writer. Ernest Gébler's *The Plymouth Adventure* (Garden City: Doubleday; \$3.00) is marked by a high sense of drama, a finely calculated sweep of forces and personalities, and a sympathetic and usually realistic portrayal of well known events. Only infrequently has there been a historical novel to win the plaudits of Hollywood and yet rate the attention of serious readers—this book is one of the exceptions.

### American Lives

Margaret L. Coit's *John C. Calhoun: American Portrait* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin; \$5.00) is an interesting, competent biography of one of our great political thinkers. Calhoun wrestled with a problem that continues to plague us: "How, in a democracy, can we combine



liberty for minorities with the rule of the majority and yet maintain a government strong enough to function in a crisis?" This is good, if not great, biography, and marks its author as a person of real ability and promise.

The third volume in Marie Kimball's life of Jefferson, *Jefferson, The Scene of Europe, 1784-1789* (N. Y.: Coward-McCann; \$6.00) deals with the half decade in which Jefferson was our Minister to Paris. This volume, on the surface, seems to add little to Jefferson's stature or to our knowledge of him. It is not, however, fair to pass final judgment until the study has been completed.

Most Americans know something of Louisa May Alcott as an author, but few have any realization of the tremendous burdens realized on her by family and friends. Her life story is more than that of a successful writer, it is the story of a struggle against tremendous odds and the conquering of gigantic obstacles. It is told, in a rich and satisfying manner, in Madeleine B. Stern's *Louisa May Alcott* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Pr.; \$4.00).

Eleanor Young's *Forgotten Patriot. Robert Morris* (N. Y.: Macmillan; \$4.00) is the first biography of the great Revolutionary financier to appear in half a century. While not always critical, and often highly laudatory, this book succeeds in lending reality to the life, work and associates of one of the most important personages in America between 1775 and 1795.

John A. Pollard's *John Greenleaf Whittier, Friend of Man* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin; \$6.00) makes an interesting addition to our biographical Americana. The many faceted life of the Quaker poet is too seldom remembered; this biography will help to remind Americans of the twentieth century that Whittier deserved recognition as a business man, politician and reformer as well as for his pen.

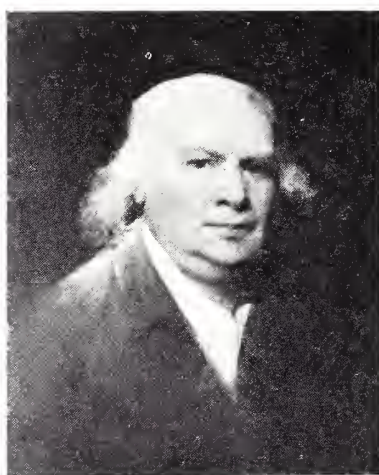
Newton Arvin's *Herman Melville* (N. Y.: William Sloane; \$3.50) is perhaps the finest volume to appear, so far, in a distinguished series—*American Men of Letters*. Making use of excellent and recent studies of Melville's life and work, Professor Arvin has woven a rich synthesis that will appeal to the discerning layman as well as to the critic.

Students of the French or the American Revolution, or people interested in the career of the Marquis de Lafayette, will wish to read Louis Gottschalk's *Lafayette Between the American & the French Revolution, 1783-1789* (Chicago:

Univ. of Chi. Pr.; \$7.50). The fourth volume in a series on the life of the French nobleman, this will prove of interest and value to many readers.

G. Bromley Oxnam's *Personalities in Social Reform* (N. Y.: Abingdon-Cokesbury; \$2.00) is an interesting study of six frontier thinkers: Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Walter Rauschenbusch, David E. Lilienthal, Mohandas K. Gandhi, and Albert Schweitzer.

William Greene Roelker has edited and annotated an interesting and valuable late eighteenth-century correspondence: *Benjamin Franklin and Catharine Ray Greene, Their Correspondence, 1755-1790* (Phil.: Amer. Philosophical Soc.; \$3.00).



FORGOTTEN PATRIOT: Robert Morris

The first volume of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Pr.; \$10.00) has just been published; its appearance initiated one of the most significant publishing ventures of our century. Under the editorship of Julian P. Boyd, assisted by Lyman Butterfield and Mina Bryan, the series will ultimately consist of 52 volumes. The second will appear this fall, and it is expected that four volumes will be published each year, beginning with 1951. The entire work will include 18,000 letters written by Jefferson and 25,000 letters written to him. It will also include a wide variety of writings, four-fifths of which will be published for the first time. This first volume, marked by distinguished editing, covers the period 1760-1776. It throws new light on the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson's role in drafting the Virginia Constitution, his efforts, in 1776 to disestablish the Church of Virginia, and includes the first publication

of Jefferson's comments on Franklin's Plan of Union of 1775.

Catherine Drinker Bowen, author of the very fine biography *Yankee From Olympus; Justice Holmes and His Family*, has written another outstanding biography of a great American. Her *John Adams and the American Revolution* (Boston: Little, Brown; \$5.00) is a fascinating recreation of stirring times and of the men who molded and guided our young nation. There is much that is new and even more that is stimulating in this book; it is a book that no student of the Revolution will be able to ignore, and it is a book that will prove of deep interest to all who find the lives of great men stimulating.

### American Wars

The third volume in Winston Churchill's history of World War II, titled *The Grand Alliance* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin; \$6.00) has recently come from the press. As with the previous volumes, there are both minor errors and aggravations. The reader who looks for them, however, will be very foolish. To observe such trifles he may be forced to miss the drama and the broad sweep of one of the most graphic pens ever put to work to tell the story of a world at crisis.

George Alfred Townsend's *Rustics in Rebellion; A Yankee Reporter on the Road to Richmond, 1861-1865* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of No. Carolina Pr.; \$3.50) is a new edition of a vivid report of the Civil War that was first published more than eighty years ago. Readers will wonder how such a warm and vivid record could be so long neglected.

Robert Selph Henry's *The Story of the Mexican War* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill; \$4.50) is a detailed, usually accurate and often colorful account of our war with Mexico. Col. Henry takes the position that the United States was justified in its declaration of war, that we did not, as has been so often claimed, deliberately start it. Some historians will refuse to accept this point of view, but few will question the author's scholarship. Best of all, it is "good" reading.

A new and interesting approach to the background of the Civil War, to the forces that were at work in the 1850's, is afforded by Rollin G. Osterweis' *Romanticism and Nationalism in the Old South* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Pr.; \$3.75). No student of mid-nineteenth century history, no person interested in the forces that drove our nation into Civil War, should ignore this volume.

One of the most controversial decisions



of the Civil War was that in which a court martial found Major General Fitz John Porter guilty of cowardice and treason. That decision, plus the long struggle in which Porter finally cleared his name, is the central theme of Otto Eischenschiml's *The Celebrated Case of Fitz John Porter* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill; \$3.50).

*Coral Sea, Midway and Submarine Actions May 1942—August 1942* (Boston: Little, Brown; \$6.00) is volume IV of Samuel Eliot Morison's *History of U. S. Naval Operations in World War II*, and is the second volume to deal with the Pacific War. It is in the period covered by this volume that the U.S. reached bottom and began the slow climb toward victory.

Students of the art of warfare will enjoy Lt. Col. A. H. Burne's *The Art of War on Land* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Military Service; \$2.50).

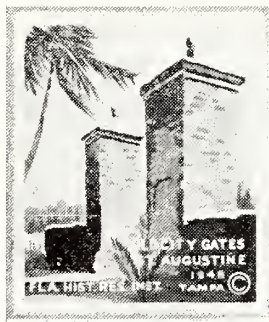
### Regional and Local

Chilton Williamson's *Vermont in Quandary: 1763-1825* (Montpelier: Vt. Histor. Soc.; \$4.50) is volume four in the *Growth of Vermont Series*. It penetrates beneath the political frictions—e.g. the Allens and the New Hampshire Grants controversy—that have long been associated with the history of Vermont during these years, to seek the economic and geographic forces which were shaping the future development of the state. This is local history of the highest order.

One of the better known and more prolific of Lincoln writers, Paul Angle has made another addition to our lengthening shelf of Lincolniana in *Here I Have Lived: The Story of Lincoln's Springfield* (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Pr.; \$3.75). This is excellent social history; it is outstanding local history. Its great attraction, of course, will be that it is local and social history that is connected with the life of our sixteenth President.

William D. Hulbert's *White Pine Days on the Taquamenon* (Lansing: Historical Society of Michigan) has been edited by Lewis Beeson, secretary of the society. It is made up of a selection of the writings of one of Michigan's early naturalists, who died about forty years ago. The descriptions of woods, animals, and especially of the men who surveyed the timber lands are fascinating.

*The Ballad of Oakland*, by Rev. Felix G. Robinson, was written in commemoration of the centennial celebration of Oakland, Md., in 1949. It is an interest-



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ing and unusual way of recording local history.

*The Winooski, Heartway of Vermont* (N. Y.: Rinehart; \$3.50) by Ralph Nading Hill, is another in the *Rivers of America* series. A delightful mixture of myth, tradition and fact, this has both the strengths and weaknesses of the other volumes in the series.


Morris E. Garnsey's *America's New Frontier: The Mountain West* (N. Y.: Knopf; \$3.50) is a challenging survey of the possible future of the eight Rocky Mountain states.

### Miscellaneous

Few would care to deny that our democratic way of life is literally fighting for its existence. Many are troubled by the

extent to which, even in this last great bastion of freedom, democracy is but a rather meaningless word. Such people will be encouraged by the appearance of Laurence Stapleton's *The Design of Democracy* (N. Y.: Oxford Univ. Pr.; \$4.00). The author divides her book into two parts: *The Principles of Democracy*, and *The Context of Democracy*. In the last two chapters she examines the responsibilities presented to democratic countries by the existence of the conditions of a world community and the consequent need for world law.

Kenneth B. Murdock's *Literature & Theology in Colonial New England* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Pr.; \$4.00) deals with the ways in which the basic theological beliefs of the Puritans influenced their writing. This is as valuable



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to the historian as it is to the student of our early literature.

*The American Churches, An Interpretation* (N. Y.: Abingdon-Cokesbury; \$1.50) is a slim volume by the dean of American church historians, William Warren Sweet. This reviewer knows of no comparable book. Here, in brief form and lucid style, is an explanation of the major forces and events in our religious history.

World leadership is a new responsibility for American people, thus the responsibilities that this leadership imposes upon them have not been learned through experience. Books such as Gabriel A. Almond's *The American People and Foreign Policy* (N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace; \$3.75) are, therefore, of real significance.

There are many hobbies in the marginal area of American history, one of them being the collecting of old buttons. For button enthusiasts there is one book that is an absolute must—Lillian Albert and Kathryn Kent's *The Complete Button Book* (N. Y.: Doubleday; \$10.00). This book illustrates, describes and identifies more than 5700 different buttons.

Hodding Carter's *Southern Legacy* (Baton Rouge: La. State Univ. Pr.; \$3.00) is a forceful analysis of the modern South by the man who is one of the nation's best known editors. Mr. Carter views the present Southern problem as a legacy from the past: "from the plantation system, with its aristocratic tradition and its slavery, and from war and its bitter aftermath."

### Bibliography and Reference

*The Jefferson Papers of the University of Virginia*, a calendar compiled by Constance E. Thurlow and Francis L. Berkeley, Jr., with an appended essay by Helen D. Bullock on the Papers of Thomas Jefferson (Charlottesville: Univ. Library; \$5.00), is No. 8 in the University of Virginia Bibliographical Series. The 2,341 chronologically arranged paragraphs of abstracts cover all of the university's 2500 original manuscripts and a few photostats of privately owned originals.

The Bibliography Committee of the Adirondack Mountain Club has compiled *An Alphabetical Index to the Bibliography in Donaldson's History of the Adirondacks* (Poughkeepsie, N. Y.: 24 pp. lithographed; Dorothy A. Plum, Vassar College; 60 cents).

*A Guide to the Burlington Archives in the Newberry Library, 1851-1901*, compiled by Elizabeth C. Jackson and Caro-

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lyn Curtis (Chicago: Newberry Library), is an aid of great value to people working with railroad history.

### Sources

Oscar Handlin, a member of the history department at Harvard University, has searched the records of European travellers to our shores in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and has produced a fascinating and valuable book: *This Was America* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Pr.; \$6.00). Forty source selections are grouped under four headings: "The Sources of American Nationality"; "The Consequences of Expansion"; "Urban America"; and "The Burdens of Maturity."

For the first time, readers may enjoy the unexpurgated text of Mary Boykin Chesnut's witty, descriptive diary of life in the Confederacy. Ben Ames Williams, noted novelist, has done the editing of *A Diary from Dixie* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin; \$5.00). For half a century the abbreviated form of this diary has been one of our choicest sources for civilian Richmond society. This edition is incomparably better.

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## Discovery and Exploration

Realistic accounts of the momentous events of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are provided in two useful interpretations of the period of discovery and exploration. *Age of Discovery: Spanish and Portuguese Explorations*, a 16mm sound film (Coronet Instructional Films, Coronet Building, Chicago 1, Ill. Sale price: \$45 in black and white and \$90 in full color), is a ten-minute background setting for a discussion of the subject. Beginning with Prince Henry the Navigator, this film views actual places connected with the lives and accomplishments of the early Spanish and Portuguese explorers. It shows their charts and other sailing equipment and includes pictures of ships similar to those used in the voyages of Diaz, Columbus, Magellan, and others of this daring company. Animated maps retrace the routes followed to reach unknown lands of two hemispheres. This skilful combination of materials constitutes a valuable aid for explaining the significance of the great era.

*Age of Exploration*, a 35mm colored filmstrip (Life Filmstrips, Time and Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York 20, N. Y., \$4.50) covers—in portraits, maps, and scenic views—some of the same material of the Coronet film. Its fifty frames, however, reveal the graphic substance of a much wider horizon. The strip treats, in addition to the contributions of Spain and Portugal, those made by English, French, and Dutch adventurers throughout the world. It is not a complete presentation of the subject, and is not carefully integrated; but it does have the mature asset of disclosing some of the cultural influences that resulted from western Europe's increased contacts with other parts of the world.

## Indians of America

Illustrative materials furnishing clear and distinct impressions of the life and activities of the earliest Americans continue to appear. (See also: AMERICAN HERITAGE, Summer 1950, page 53.) *Pueblo Indians Through the Ages*, a 56-frame, 35mm filmstrip in color (Folkways Records and Service Corp., 117 West 46th St., New York 19, N. Y., \$10), produced by Helmut de Terra, is a noteworthy summary of the culture and social patterns of these Indians. From the time of their early appearance as the "Basket-Makers" to the spectacular cliff-dwellings of the Pueblo era, their home surroundings, decorations, crafts, con-

# Seeing and Hearing HISTORY

Edited by WILLIAM G. TYRRELL

struction methods, and weapons are brought to view. This is an excellent successor to Folkways' initial photographic report of Indian life, *Very American—Very Indian* (AMERICAN HERITAGE, September 1949, page 55.)

Even more impressive as a record of a vanished American civilization is the companion filmstrip on *The Ancient Maya* (Folkways, \$10.) The 54 frames of this full-color strip provide a firsthand view of the cultural heritage of the pre-Columbian Maya. Everyday life, customs, and ceremonies are here reproduced from wall paintings. There are also impressive vistas of the monumental examples of Mayan architectural skill as well as views of their numerical system and their time and date devices. The life-like views in both strips combine archeology with anthropological study to establish important accounts of these subjects of history.

Prepared with taste and presented with care and understanding, *Painting With Sand* (Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc., 1150 Wilmette Ave., Wil-

mette, Ill. Sale price \$100) is the motion picture re-creation of a unique Navajo ceremony. In it, medicine men of the tribe set about to prepare a symbolic design from brilliantly colored sandstone rocks and minerals. As the tribal elders grind the rocks and blend the colored sand, preparing a pattern that will call forth nature's powers to cure a sick Indian child, each step is fully described and interpreted. Like an earlier EBF production, the prize-winning *The Loon's Necklace*, this is a superior presentation of an ancient tradition.

Bernard S. Mason, experienced student of Indian lore and crafts, prepared in 1944 an authoritative volume on *Dances and Stories of the American Indians*. Published originally as a limited edition, the book has now been reissued for the wide distribution it deserves (New York: Barnes, \$5). It features a large selection of different forms of dances as performed by the leading tribes of the United States. With full directions for performing these dances, the author also includes additional details for re-

FROM  
*The Age of  
Exploration*







Courtesy of New York Historical Society  
GREEN CORN DANCE. Drawing by George Catlin

creating them with authenticity and showmanship. Moreover, the discussions of dance themes and motifs plus the information about properties and programming make this an indispensable reference for any group or organization interested in duplicating these lively and colorful ceremonies.

#### *Colonial America*

Life along the Atlantic seaboard in colonial times is depicted in a series of eight 35mm filmstrips entitled *Colonial Life* (Eye-Gate House, 330 West 42nd St., New York 18, N. Y., \$3.95 each strip). How the colonies developed, the hardships encountered and how they

were overcome, social activities and religious worship, how people dressed, and the sort of homes in which they lived are some of the main topics presented for young audiences. *Life in Jamestown*, *Life in Plymouth*, *Life on a New England Farm*, *Life in a New England Town*, *Life in New Netherlands*, *Life on a Southern Plantation*, *Life in a Southern Town*, *How Democracy Developed* are the individual strips. This series is particularly useful for providing a realistic view of the differences between rural and community living and for contrasting developments in the three major sections of the colonies.

In *The Colonial Craftsman* (New York: New York University Press, \$4.25) the distinguished scholar of early American society, Carl Bridenbaugh, explores the role and contributions of an important occupation group. Famous Americans like Benjamin Franklin, Paul Revere, and Charles Willson Peale belonged to this group, and their work constituted a new art form. Bridenbaugh actually considers some 70 different trades and crafts, from shipwrights and blacksmiths to pewterers and brass-button makers. He considers their social and political position, and describes in detail their methods and organization for work; he is not, however, interested in evaluating their artistic achievements so much as their utilitarian relations to colonial life. As would be expected from this author, the book is an enlightening contribution to cultural history.

Metalsmiths at work FROM *The Colonial Craftsman*





### Children of Early America

The second group of 35mm filmstrips in a series of dramatic episodes in the early period of American history is now available from Young America Films, Inc. (18 East 41st St., New York 17, N. Y., \$6 each or \$30 a set of six). Like the first set of stories (AMERICAN HERITAGE, Summer 1950, page 53), these strips reenact historic events as seen through the eyes of a young observer. The striking background and exciting adventures of the series are certain to arouse in upper elementary school students an eager interest in the subject matter. Included in the present set are the following dramatized incidents: *The Patroon's Gift*, life in New Amsterdam and New Netherlands in 1660; *Rescued by Boone*, crossing the Cumberland Gap in 1780; *The New Fort at Chekagon*, high adventure at a new fur-trading post in 1819; *Toupatb Boy*, along the Erie Canal in 1827; *Wagons to the West*, from Independence to Santa Fe, via Conestago wagon in 1834; *Stowaway Around the Horn*, *The White Cloud* sails from Baltimore to San Francisco in 1849. A third set similar in content and purpose to the first two is also in production.

### Historic New England

An overall survey of New England's growth and development is contained in the first set of 35mm black and white filmstrips in a series on *The Story of America*, produced by Knowledge Builders (625 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y. \$2 a single strip or \$18 for a set of ten). By combining maps, historic illustrations, and contemporary views, the strips serve as a useful background for studying the region's history, geography, economic activities, or present day problems.

The subjects of each of the strips have been prepared with a chronological order in mind, the first three strips evolve from developments in the period 1600-1790: *Land and First Settlers*, *Seaports and Towns*, and *Self-Sufficient Farms*. A second group of three is pertinent to the years 1790-1870: *Rivers and Textiles*, *Manufacturing and Cities*, and *Commerce and Culture*. In the recent period, 1870 to 1950, the subjects treated are: *Resources of the Sea*, *Special Resources of the Soil*, *Other National Resources*, and *Interrelations and Modern Trends*. Two similar series, also with ten strips in each, on the Middle Atlantic and Southern Atlantic regions are in process.

Henry Cobb Shaw, of Pilgrim Colorslides (8 Bosworth Street, Boston 8, Mass., \$.50 per slide) has an extensive collection of 35mm Kodachrome transparencies of historic and scenic New England. It is a collection that is being continually enlarged but so far the catalogue lists exterior and interior views of most of the important public buildings and historic homes of the region. Although somewhat uneven in quality there are, nevertheless, many unsurpassed views. When properly projected, these slides are rewarding records of the outstanding sites of the northeastern United States.

FROM  
New England  
Background of  
Literature



*New England: Background of Literature*, a ten-minute 16mm sound film (Coronet. Sale price: \$45 in black and white and \$90 in color), brings the viewer into close contact with numerous names and places that have become familiar from reading Longfellow, Emerson, Thoreau, Bryant, Whittier, and Holmes. Here, the viewer experiences more directly those scenes that he has known only through the indirect verbal description. In addition to this stimulating feature, the film presents a realistic impression of the natural surroundings that influenced the literary efforts of New England's authors.

### Detroit's Beginning

Another pictorial story of early American life is presented in the 35mm film strip, *Cadillac's Village*, sponsored by the Detroit Historical Society. Produced and distributed by the Audio Visual Ma-

terials Consultation Bureau (College of Education, Wayne University, Detroit, Mich. \$3). The subject of this strip is the founding of Detroit by the French in 1701, with an account of life at the fort to the time of its surrender to the British in 1760. Although of primary interest in the study of Detroit history, the film can be used to advantage to illustrate colonial life and the struggle for empire.

### The South in History

Colorful impressions of Florida's early history are provided in a group of poster stamps reproduced from paintings by Alfred J. Bowman. Twenty-four views

show incidents in the history of Florida from the time of Ponce de Leon's landing in 1513 to the end of the sixteenth century. An album in which the poster stamps may be mounted, briefly explains the significance of each of the views. Plans for covering the complete history of the state in this form have been made by the producers of the stamps, the Florida Historical Research Institute (3007 Granada Street, Tampa 9, Florida. The regular price of stamps and album is \$1.50 a set, but readers mentioning AMERICAN HERITAGE in their order will receive a special rate of \$1.00).

The organization of a typical southern plantation, the physical arrangement of crops and buildings, and many essential activities are described in *Life On A Southern Plantation*, a 16mm sound film (Coronet. Sale price \$45 and \$90). This brief film also touches on the social organizations of the Old South and the in-





"Jefferson's Dream" FROM *Two Captains West*

fluences of the plantation system at the present time. Unfortunately, the analysis is oversimplified to the point of distortion and even inaccuracy in its presentation of this important subject of social history.

#### *Viewing the Civil War*

From the profusion of material available on the subject Professor William Hesselstine, of the University of Wisconsin, has prepared for Informative Classroom Picture Publishers (Grand Rapids, Mich.) a brief but graphic report on the Civil War. The 48 frames of the 35mm filmstrip, *A Nation Divided*, consist of specially prepared maps, contemporary illustrations, and reproduced paintings. They supply realistic impressions of the intersectional conflict. Background scenes show life in the two sections before the war; these are followed by views of events preceding the crisis and others

showing the outbreak of hostilities. The course of the war on land and sea is traced on maps and by pictures of the principal engagements. There is also motivating material for a discussion of political and social activities during and following the war. (The prepaid price of the black and white strip is \$3.95.)

#### *The U.S. West*

Albert and Jane Salisbury, authors of *Here Rolled The Covered Wagons* (AMERICAN HERITAGE, October 1948, page 44) have again taken their typewriter and camera with them to retrace another memorable pathway in United States history. This time their route is the expedition of Lewis and Clark, and the result is the volume *Two Captains West* (Seattle: Superior. \$7.50. A limited edition, signed, numbered, boxed, and bound in buckram is priced at \$15).

"Cooking Fish" FROM *Two Captains West*



Carefully heeding the travel notations contained in the original journals and diaries, the Salisburys set out to follow Lewis and Clark's two-and-one-half year's journey into the Western wilderness. The narration reports the progress and activities of the original adventurers, noting particularly their comments on the natural surroundings—the rivers, plains, mountains, and wildlife. Photographs were made of these subjects, particularly the principal landmarks and campsites of the expedition, and 160 are reproduced in the volume. These show, as nearly as possible, the vast interior of the continent as it appeared in 1804-1806. Accurate directions for reaching, by modern highway, the most interesting points of the travels are an outstanding feature of *Two Captains West*. Nine maps show the original route followed by Lewis and Clark and the present-day, nearby highways. Another distinctive portion is the chatty comments on the Salisburys' own experiences in traveling from St. Louis to the Pacific Coast. Forty drawings add to the visual account of the subject. Mounted half-tones of any of the book's photographs can be ordered from the publisher for \$.50. This is a distinguished effort to make history come alive.

The more settled conditions of everyday life in the Trans-Appalachian region and sod-house frontier of the Western prairies are displayed in the 21 frames of the 35mm filmstrip *Pioneer Days* (Informative Classroom Picture Publishers. \$3.95). Black and white illustrations show, in clear line drawings, the daily chores and equipment used in the household and on the farm in this period of our history.

Available now for classroom use are abbreviated versions of two Hollywood feature productions that re-create episodes in the history of the Western United States. These films should prove highly useful for reproducing the spirit and action of the subject. *Communications Westward* is a shortened form of the Paramount film, *Wells Fargo*. It gives a hurried account of some of the activities of that famous express company and its contributions to the westward expansion of the nation. *Due Process of Law Denied*, consisting of excerpts from the 20th Century-Fox feature, *Ox Bow Incident*, is not of a celebrated event in Western history. This account is, however, a forceful reenactment of a lynching—the frequent frontier evasion of legal machinery. These films and other



versions of historical subjects previously released for educational purposes were edited by a committee of teachers of The National Council for the Social Studies and are distributed by Teaching Film Custodians Inc. (25 West 43rd St., New York 18, N. Y.)

### History on Display

On view in the Second Floor Exhibition Gallery of the Library of Congress is one of the most extensive displays ever gathered of historic materials pertaining to the District of Columbia. This exhibition, consisting of items from the Library's own collections, was prepared in connection with the sesquicentennial celebration of the establishment of the federal government at Washington. It opened on April 24th and will continue until the end of the year.

The material has been arranged to show significant episodes in the history of the nation's capital: early explorations in the Potomac region; discussions concerning the selection of a capital site; land surveys and purchases in the District; L'Enfant's famous plans; the early public buildings; the invasion in 1814; and a continuous record of growth and changes down to 1900. Illustrative documentary materials consist of books, broadsides, newspapers, and original manuscripts. The appearance of the first century of life in Washington can be visualized by a quantity of pictorial items plus maps, surveys, and architects' drawings. A catalogue describing the exhibition in detail is being prepared; it will resemble those produced for previous anniversary displays presented at the Library (AMERICAN HERITAGE, Spring 1950, page 57).

A supplementary exhibition at the Library during part of the spring was *Old World Cities, Their Influence upon L'Enfant's Plan of the City of Washington*. It consisted of a valuable selection of plans of European cities, as they existed around 1790, maps of Colonial towns, and related maps of the capital itself.

### History in Song

Songs and music closely connected with the American past are presented in an informative and appealing way in the series of recordings, *Adventures in Folk Songs* (Gloria Chandler Recordings, 422½ West 46th St., New York 14, N. Y. 3-12" 33⅓ rpm records, \$6.85 each). Twelve programs about major episodes in the nation's growth are included on the records. Realistically

bringing alive the subjects is the performance of 83 songs and melodies that were an actual part of the everyday lives of earlier Americans. Accompanying narrations also embrace accounts of traditions and customs as well as observations on the social interests, political outlook, and economic activities of the time. Marty Clark King prepared the material and does most of the singing in a direct and natural manner; she is accompanied on the guitar by Barbara Ellen Rogers, who also helps with the vocals. Unfortunately, no male voices are used even though the situations might indicate them. With appropriate visual materials, these records could be the basis for stimulating historical pro-



FROM *Communications Westward*

grams for upper elementary school students.

Authentic American music of a different quality is contained in recent albums of recordings in the Ethnic Folkways Library, *Negro Folk Music of the United States, Vol. I Secular Music*, and *Vol. II, Religious Music* (Folkways, EFL 1417 and EFL 1418, 4-10" 78 rpm records each volume, \$7.33 per volume; LP 417 and LP 418, 2-12" 33⅓ rpm records, \$5.95 each). Recorded by Harold Courlander from the unrehearsed singing of Negro groups in Alabama, selections in both albums manifest the enduring influences of the original African music. The secular numbers consist of blues, play songs, work tunes and field calls, instrumental selections, and stories. In the religious album are hymns, stories, and sermons. This compilation will long be an essential source of information for any study of the American musical tradition.

A recent addition to the profusion of traditional cowboy music is performed by Bob Atcher in *Songs of the Saddle* (Columbia, HL 9013, 1-10" 33⅓ rpm record, \$2.85). Atcher performs, in a restrained and melodious style, eight of

the songs that were frequently sung on the ranges and in the bunkhouses at the time of the cattleman's frontier.

### Old Glory

An interesting account of *The Story of the American Flag* is contained in three 35mm colored filmstrips in a series of this name produced by Filmfax and distributed by Eye-Gate House. *The Flag is Born, The Flag Develops* and *How to Honor and Display the Flag* incorporate pictures of flags that have flown over the United States from the earliest times to the present day with accurate directions on the use of the flag.

### Houses of History

World in Color Productions (108 West Church St., Elmira, N. Y.) has underway a plan for preserving on motion picture film the appearance of outstanding historic buildings in the United States. To the present time, *Mount Vernon, Colonial Williamsburg, Monticello, Sunnyside* at Irvington, N. Y., and *Old Sturbridge, Mass.* have been so treated. These films give a clear impression of the exterior appearance of the house and its natural setting and also some of the interior furnishings and decorations. In addition to buildings at Old Sturbridge, a second film on the same locality will show crafts in operation. The running time of these films is approximately three and one-half minutes. Because of the short length there are few subtitles and little action; scenes are identified on a printed folder but there is no interpretative information. They are particularly useful for visitors who have been unable to shoot their own scenes. World in Color Productions has also produced similar films about 25 national parks, 16 national monuments, and numerous other places of importance in the United States and throughout the world. (16mm versions are priced at \$14.75 in full color, or \$4.00 in black and white. 8mm editions are \$7.50 and \$2.00 for the color and black and white, respectively.)

A more detailed motion picture view of Monticello is available in the 16mm sound film *Thomas Jefferson the Architect* (International Film Bureau, 6 North Michigan Ave., Chicago 2, Ill. Price not known). In addition to scenes showing the exterior style and interior furnishings at Monticello, with explanations of Jefferson's devices for comfortable living, the ten-minute film also describes his design of the University of Virginia and the state capitol at Richmond.



## Furnishings and Decorations

Neville Truman's *Historic Furnishing* (New York: Pitman, \$4.75) is an encyclopaedic source of information about varieties of household furnishings from 1400 to 1820. With 290 illustrations and 17 full-page drawings of typical room layouts as preserved in museums, the volume is a convenient reference for examining style changes in history. Most of the examples are of English origin, with the exception of a brief discussion on American furnishing. This information is restricted to 22 pages with ten drawings and three plates of rooms in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

*Shaker Furniture*, a study prepared by Edward Deming Andrews and Faith Andrews and first published as a limited edition by the Yale University Press in 1937 has appeared in a new edition for general distribution (New York: Dover, \$6). Nowhere else is there such an authoritative account of the Shaker way of life and its influence on craftsmanship. The functional simplicity of the Shaker style is evident in the 48 large-size illustrations of rooms and individual objects. Each of the articles is carefully described and measured.

Dorothy Daniel's volume *Cut and Engraved Glass* is the first in a series of "Collectors' Guides to American Ware" published by M. Barrows (New York, \$5.95). The author of this study has done a monumental job in describing and classifying 50 of the most important patterns of cut and engraved glass. All of them are illustrated—517 different objects are pictured—and frequently the pattern illustrations are reproductions of the original patent registration. A history of cut glass in the United States, descriptions of manufacturing methods, and information on appraising the authenticity of cut-ware combine to make this an invaluable guide to the subject.

Julienne Hallen, author of *Folk Art Design* (AMERICAN HERITAGE, Summer 1950, page 56), has recently produced another instructive volume, *300 Projects for Hand Decorating* (New York: Homecrafts, \$3). Here are step-by-step directions for decorating almost any sort of material with the most appropriate designs.

## On Viewing Films

The cultural influences and documentary record as exhibited in motion pictures are analyzed in two recent studies. Both are by English authors and both are revised editions of earlier commentaries.

Paul Rotha's *The Film Till Now* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, \$12.00) has been a classic history since its first appearance in 1930. With few changes in the original discussion, the volume has been expanded by Richard Griffith's contribution of a lengthy account of "The Film Since Then." Both authorities are highly concerned with the social forces and artistic motivations that have influenced the form and content of motion pictures. This is "a survey of world cinema," and the discussions are arranged according to national sources. The high standards of evaluation of these authors makes them critical of the majority of commercially produced motion pictures,



ROBERT J. FLAHERTY

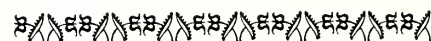
"Father of the Documentary Film" and producer of "Green Mountain Land"

and for Hollywood's efforts, as one might expect, they have approval for only a small minority.

Similar estimations are made by Raymond Spottiswoode in *A Grammar of the Film* now published in the United States for the first time since its publication in England fifteen years ago (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, \$3.75). A new preface prepared by the author a year ago indicates a few of the changes he would make if preparing his study at the later date. It is also a discussion of the aesthetic, technical, and historical development of this important form of cultural expression. Both volumes should encourage readers to attend the movies with a new and improved perspective.

## New Historical Documentary

*Green Mountain Land* is an impressive motion picture account of Vermont's history and its people based on Earle Newton's book, *The Vermont Story* (AMERICAN HERITAGE, September 1949, pages 6-7). The film provides a brief background of the state's development by showing the remains of history in buildings, paintings, statues, and epitaphs. Also important in the film are the people themselves, and their character and activities, particularly as they have been influenced by their natural environment. Gorgeous scenery—here presented in living, full-color views—is, however, only the setting for describing the everyday lives of Vermonters. The union of past and present, and the mixture of land and people, furnishes an effective presentation of the distinctive features of the state's charm. This combination has been accomplished in a noteworthy style by two eminent producers of non-fictional films, Robert and David Flaherty, who produced the 26-minute motion picture for the Editors of *Vermont Life*. (Available for screening from the Vermont Development Commission, Montpelier, no rental.) An original musical score was composed by Alan Macneill of Springfield, Vt., and recorded by the Vermont State Symphony Orchestra. A Vermont farmer also does a good deal of the narration. Just as *The Vermont Story* was the first volume in a series of state histories, so may it be hoped that this will be the first in a series of films on the history and heritage of each of our states.

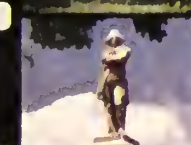
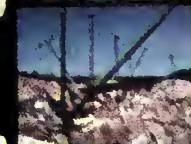
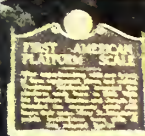


## FILMING "Green Mountain Land" →

Picture opens with a panoramic view of the Vermont countryside, which actually was the first scene shot by Director David Flaherty and Cameraman Leonard Stark. At upper left, joined by assistant Director Stefan Bodnariuk, they maneuver for a shot of the Capitol dome at Montpelier. At bottom, a field discussion at Flaherty's farm in Dummerston, Vt. Down the right margin are scenes from the film, starting with the first American patent—for the making of potash—issued to a Vermonter in 1790, and ending with a portrait of Mrs. Ebenezer Crafts, wife of a well known Vermont pioneer and mother of one of her governors. Other shots depict aspects of Vermont life rooted in her past.

(Courtesy the Editors of *Vermont Life*.)







## Heritage in Health

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 31)

liver products, sulfonamides, gas-gangrene antitoxin, diphtheria toxoid and diphtheria antitoxin, cholera vaccine, and Japanese B encephalitis vaccine. In addition, the company processed and delivered, without profit, more than two million pints of blood plasma.

Before the end of the war the company had outgrown the simpler organization of an earlier day, so President Eli Lilly, after consultation with his associates, established six major departments over each of which was placed a vice president; they were finance, production, marketing, industrial relations, engineering, and research. J. K. Lilly, Jr., became executive vice president and president of Lilly International.

The making of modern medicines is an intricate and complicated process; into it go the combined brains and highly coordinated labors of researchers—"the explorers of uncharted seas"—purchasing specialists, chemists, biologists, bacteriologists, pharmacologists, physicians, clinicians, engineers, and skilled laborers. And all must be coordinated with fine precision.

Once a formula has been established, the crude drugs and other raw materials are assembled, tested, and properly mixed. The manufacturing formula which accompanies the product is mechanically reproduced so there can be no variants. At each stage along the way the item is tested, checked, and rechecked. Every lot of finished medicine intended for internal human use is assayed to make sure that no errors have been made. The making, with the assistance of animals, of biologicals presents special problems. Since Eli Lilly and Company manufacture more than 1,500 products which are marketed in some 7,000 package sizes, the amount of detailed planning and supervision required can well be imagined.

The foundation of the sales organization of the company has always been the medical service representative—"the man on the road." He is more than a salesman; he is the educational liaison agent between the manufacturer of medicines and the prescriber of medicines. Though it has always been the Lilly policy to distribute its products only through the drug trade, most of them reach the patient's bedside through the physician's prescription or recommendation. Always in mind is the injunction: "This company practices no medicine—we just make it." Consequently, all company ad-

vertising and sales promotion literature are written for the information of the medical profession. At times the announcements of new medicines appear to be preponderantly warnings of limitations and dangers rather than sales advertisements. *Tile and Till*, a bimonthly publication begun by the company in 1915, today reaches about 50,000 druggists in the United States, while the *Physician's Bulletin*, a substantial medical journal, is sent bimonthly to about 150,000 physicians. It has long been the custom for the company to replace without cost to the druggist any stocks of its products destroyed by natural disasters such as floods and earthquakes.

Among the 6,000 individuals associated with Eli Lilly and Company today are representatives of many races, nationalities, and creeds. As one would expect in such a business the over all caliber of the personnel is high. Among them are physicians whose academic and professional training is such that they could direct hospitals, conduct clinics, teach in medical schools or rank high in their profession in private practice; there are scientists who came up by way of the long grind in graduate schools and those of equal accomplishment who mastered their fields on the job; there are engineers, craftsmen, accountants, technicians, statisticians, salesmen, librarians, writers, and many other types of workers who possess college degrees or their equivalent in training. In personnel relationships the policy of the company has generally been ahead of the expectation; as a result regular turnover is low and morale high.

Eli Lilly and Company has enjoyed the advantages of continuous ownership-management, among them unity yet flexibility of command, unanimity of decision as regards policy, and promptness of action. Also easily determined is the proportion of earnings to be returned into the business: growth and expansion are not dependent upon the immediate needs of stockholders or the whims of a fluctuating money market. Whereas in 1876 each of Colonel Eli Lilly's working staff had about \$300 of machinery and materials to use for productive purposes, today each of approximately 6,000 workers has his productive power amplified by more than twenty times the original investment in machinery, plant, research, marketing facilities, and good will. Three generations of ownership-management have given a continuity of direct and personal supervision, motivated not merely by interest of ownership but also

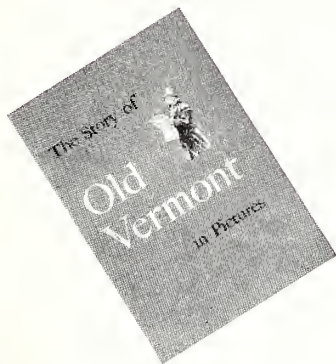
by those other influences in human affairs so conveniently ignored by the "economic determinists." The experience, vision, and development of ethical goals have been accumulative. Colonel Eli Lilly laid both material and ethical foundations. J. K. Lilly, the second president (1898-1932), also started on the ground floor and carried on a generation beyond. He became Chairman of the Board in 1932. Although definitely a member of the old school corporation heads, he proclaimed and practiced principles which might well have been more generally accepted by business forty years ago. His sons in turn, Eli Lilly (president, 1932-1948) and J. K. Lilly (president since 1948), with overlapping experience and the advantages of liberal, scientific, and business educations, while maintaining the sound and proved, have contributed solidly in research and production, in marketing and industrial relations. And J. K. Lilly III links the continuity through the fourth generation into the fifth. Though the company is essentially a family corporation, various members of the organization who have rendered long and valuable service have been taken into the management councils and invited into ownership.

The Lilly family have had many outside interests and honors. J. K. Lilly, who died in 1948, was a member of various literary and historical societies and chairman of the board of the Indianapolis Foundation; he bred orchids, and collected and published the music of Stephen Foster. Eli Lilly was for fourteen years president of the Indiana Historical Society; his leading non-business interests are archaeology and anthropology, in which fields he possesses more than amateur status. He is the author of *Prehistoric Antiquities of Indiana*, a scholarly treatise on the subject. J. K. Lilly II is a bibliophile, bibliographer, an inveterate collector of rare books in the fields of science, English literature, and Americana.

In the minds of many people Eli Lilly and Company is more than a business; it is an institution—a social, scientific, and economic entity. As Edmund Burke said of the state, such an institution may be regarded as "a partnership in all science, a partnership in all art, a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection. Since the ends of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born."



# Story of Old Vermont . . . in pictures



Forty-four pictures of little known incidents of Vermont's colorful history are collected in this booklet, which is yours for the asking.

The drawings are the work of the late Roy F. Heinrich and the late Herbert Morton Swoops, and are selected from the one hundred and fifty historical advertisements run by the National Life Insurance Company in a campaign that has continued since 1935.



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"SOLID AS THE GRANITE HILLS OF VERMONT"

## NATIONAL LIFE

*Insurance Company* • MONTPELIER • VERMONT

FOUNDED IN 1850 • A MUTUAL COMPANY • OWNED BY ITS POLICYHOLDERS



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(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 31)

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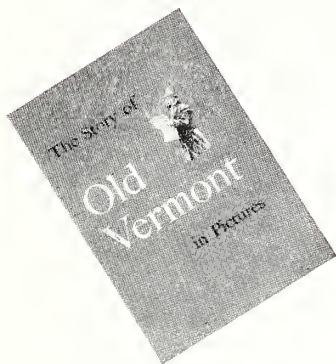
The Lilly family have sided interests and honors. Eli Lilly died in 1948, was a member of the American Literary and Historical Society, and a member of the board of the Eli Lilly Foundation; he bred or lectured and published. Stephen Foster, Eli Lilly was president of the Indiana Historical Society; his leading non-est interests are archaeology and in which fields he possesses amateur status. He is the author of *A Short History of the Historic Antiquities of Indiana*, a scholarly treatise on the subject. J. K. Lilly II is a bibliophile, bibliographer, an inveterate collector of rare books in the fields of science, English literature, and Americana.

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FOUNDED IN 1850 • A MUTUAL COMPANY • OWNED BY ITS POLICYHOLDERS



The Fall of Fort Sackville...

The Rise of the Old Northwest!



—By Frederick C. Yohn

For over 150 years Vincennes, site of the principal Sesquicentennial celebration for the old Indiana Territory, has played an important part in Indiana History. It was here George Rogers Clark took the territory comprising Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan and Minnesota from the British. It was the seat of the first Territorial Government. Indiana Territory, erected in 1800 under the Governorship of William Henry Harrison, finally was divided into five territories which later became States.

Be sure to include a visit to the Sesquicentennial celebration in Indiana this summer.

State of Indiana

Department of Commerce



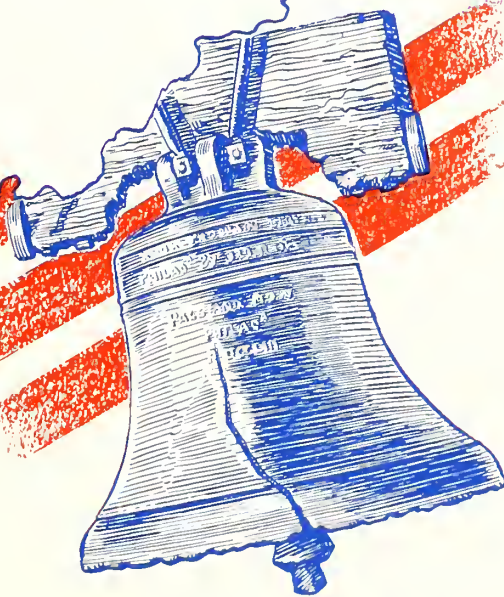
EXTENSION OF

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F R E E D O M

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I N D I A N A





Originally published by the State of Indiana  
Ralph F. Gates, Governor





**OUR STATE HERITAGE**

**HEREWITH ARE SOME OF THE  
FUNDAMENTAL DOCUMENTS  
OF INDIANA**

PREPARED BY  
THE HISTORICAL BUREAU  
FOR THE VISIT OF  
THE FREEDOM TRAIN, 1948



## CHAPITRE XXVIII.

*Embarquement au Fort des Miamis pour nous rendre à la Rivière des Illinois.*

Nous nous embarquâmes le troisième de Decembre dans huit Canots au nombre de trente Hommes & de trois Missionnaires Recollets. Nous quittâmes le Lac des Illinois, & nous remontâmes la Rivière des Miamis, que nous avions des-jà visitée. Nous fîmes nôtre route au Sud Est pendant près de vingt cinq lieues, & nous ne pûmes reconnoître le Portage, que nous devions faire de nos Canots, & de tout l'équipage pour aller nous embarquer à la Source de la Rivière des Illinois. Cette Rivière se jette, & perd son nom dans le Fleuve Melchaupi, qui dans le langage des Illinois signifie la grande Rivière.

Nous étions donc monté trop haut avec nos Canots dans cette Rivière des Miamis.

Miamis sans reconnoître le lieu, ou nous devions aller par terre pour prendre la Source de cette Rivière qui se rend aux Illinois. Cela nous obligea de nous arrêter afin de prendre avec nous le Sieur de la Salle, qui étoit allé à la Découverte par terre, & par ce qu'il ne revenoit point, nous ne savions quelle résolution prendre. Cela m'obligea de prendre deux de nos Hommes les plus gaillards, d'entrer avant dans le bois, & de décharger leurs fusils pour l'avertir du lieu ou nous l'attendions. Deux autres montèrent au haut de la Rivière pour tâcher de le trouver. Tout cela pourtant inutilement. La nuit les obligea de revenir sur leurs pas.

Le lendemain je me mis avec deux de nos Hommes en Canot allégé pour faire plus de diligence à le chercher, en remontant la Rivière. Mais nous ne le trouvâmes point. Enfin sur les quatre heures après midi nous l'appercûmes de loin ayant les mains & le visage tout noirs du charbon, & du bois qu'il avoit attilé pendant la nuit, qui avoit

Il s'éc

## HENNEPIN'S ACCOUNT OF LA SALLE'S VISIT TO INDIANA, 1679

The first white men to come into the wilderness that was to become the state of Indiana were French, members of an exploring party led by Rene Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle. In their search for the Mississippi, they passed through the Great Lakes. From Lake Michigan they came up the St. Joseph River to the present sight of South Bend, looking for the portage path to the Kankakee River. Failing to see it from the boat, La Salle went ashore and spent the night of December 5, 1679, on Indiana soil. Father Hennepin, a member of the party, recorded this in his *Description de la Louisiane* . . . published first in Paris in 1683.

The pages reproduced here are from the 1697 edition in the Indiana Historical Society Library.



*Monsieur* *7<sup>Mar.</sup> 1733*

pour faire repasser l'homme de la nation de l'homme  
caray pour vous informer que le Sabache est composé  
de cinq nations qui composent quatre villages dont  
l'un est de fourante hommes portuit. Les autres  
et le huit peut faire fin d'un autre homme  
qui se font mesurer l'un ensemble pour le bien de  
l'homme et leurs osse l'un avec l'autre. Le tout par

*Votre très humble  
et très obéissant  
serviteur  
J. Vincennes*

*Le fort de Sabache*

#### SIEUR DE VINCENNES ON FOUNDING OF VINCENNES, 1733

The first permanent white settlement in Indiana was made by the French at Vincennes. In a letter of March 7, 1733, probably to the Governor of Louisiana, Sieur de Vincennes, the founder, wrote: "The fort which I have built is eighty leagues up the Ouabache (the lower Ohio from the mouth of the Wabash to the Mississippi was known as the Wabash at this time). . . . —In regard to the trade which can be had, it is in furs. It is possible to send out from this post every year about thirty thousand skins. . . ." The original letter is in the French Colonial Office, Paris. The French had already built Fort Miamis at the present site of Fort Wayne and Fort Ouiatenon near the present site of Lafayette. These three posts guarded the river route from Lake Erie to the Ohio and Mississippi.







Virginia for      In Council at Wm. Burg. June 2<sup>d</sup> 1778  
Lieut Colonel George Rogers Clark

You are to proceed with all convenient Speed  
to raise Seven Companies of Soldiers to consist of  
fifty men each officered in the usual manner  
I amed most properly for the Service & with the  
the attack the British Post at Kaskaskia

It is conjectured that there are many pieces of  
Cannon & military Stores to a considerable Amount  
at that place, the taking & preservation of which  
would be a valuable Acquisition to the State

If you are so fortunate therefore as to succeed  
in your

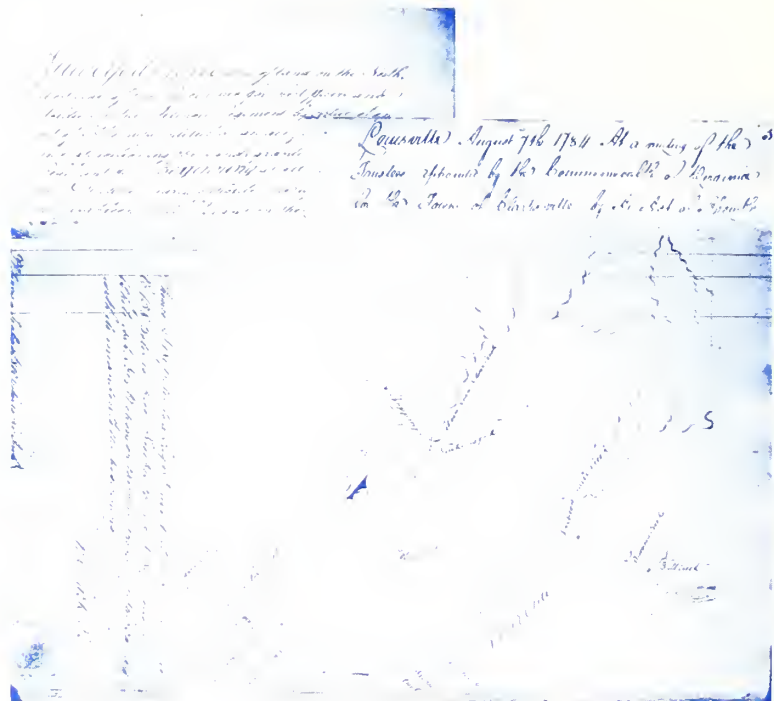
Yours  
your Obedient Son

Patrick Henry

#### SECRET INSTRUCTIONS TO GEORGE ROGERS CLARK, 1778

It was under the instruction given in this letter from Gov. Patrick Henry, of Virginia, that George Rogers Clark carried the American Revolution to the West, and captured the British posts at Kaskaskia and Vincennes. Indiana passed into American hands. These conquests made it possible for the Americans to secure the Mississippi as their western boundary in the Treaty of Paris following the war. The Commonwealth of Virginia claimed most of the territory in the Old Northwest as the result of Clark's expeditions, but later assigned it to the Federal government. The original letter is in the Indiana Historical Society Library.





### FIRST AMERICAN SETTLEMENT IN INDIANA, 1784

Virginia rewarded George Rogers Clark and his men for their services in the western expedition with a grant of 150,000 acres of land, which was located on the Ohio River opposite Louisville. Here was made the first American settlement in the Northwest. Shown here are portions of the original surveyor's records, the first page of the Minute Book of the Trustees of Clarksville, and a map of the grant, with a notation signed by the surveyor, William Clark, cousin of George Rogers Clark. The records are in the Indiana State Library.



I, *James H. Hays*, do hereby certify that the  
 State of Indiana was admitted to the Union  
 on the 11th day of December, 1800.  
 1800

Journals of the proceedings of the Executive Government of the Indiana Territory, Vincennes, July 4<sup>th</sup> 1800.  
 This day the Government of the Indiana Territory commenced. William Henry Harrison having been appointed Governor.  
 John Gibson, Secretary, William Clarke, Henry Vanderburgh, & John Harrison, Judges of the Supreme Court.  
 The following appointments were made:  
 James Johnston, Peter Van Curen, Luke Fisher, and Richard Smith, Judges of the District Court.  
 William Clark, John Smith, and John Harrison, Judges of the District Court.  
 James H. Hays, Clerk of the Court.  
 July 25<sup>th</sup>  
 Robert Hamilton, appointed to the office of Surveyor General.  
 The following appointments were made:  
 John Smith, Clerk of the Court.  
 August 1<sup>st</sup> 1800  
 The following appointments were made:  
 John Smith, Clerk of the Court.

### THE COMING OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT, 1790, 1800

Indiana was part of the Northwest Territory for which American government was established in 1787 under the famous Northwest Ordinance. Civil law came to Indiana in 1790 when the first courts were established at Vincennes. The jurisdiction of these courts was Knox County which comprised almost all of present day Indiana. The court record pictured here is in the Knox County Courthouse, Vincennes. Emigration to the West increased so rapidly that in 1800 the Indiana Territory was organized out of the Northwest Territory. From the Executive Journal in the State Library the first entry reads: "July 4th 1800—This day the Government of the Indiana Territory commenced."



By WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,  
*Governor & Commander in Chief of the  
Indiana Territory.*

**A PROCLAMATION.**

WHEREAS the circumstances of the Territory require that a session of the Legislature should be held as soon as possible, I have through proper authority, and do by these presents appoint Monday the twenty ninth day of July next for the meeting of the same, at the town of Vincennes, and the members of the Legislative council and of the House of Representatives and each and every of them are required to give their attendance accordingly.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Territory, this eleventh day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five, and of the Independence of the United States the twenty ninth.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

**PROCLAMATION CONVENING THE FIRST LEGISLATURE, 1805**

Indiana Territory was permitted to advance into the second or representative stage of government when it was evident that it was "the wish of a majority of the freeholders." By an election in 1804 the freeholders voted for the second grade and elections for the members of the House of Representatives were held on January 3, 1805. On June 11 Gov. Harrison issued the proclamation shown here, calling the first General Assembly to meet on July 29, 1805, at Vincennes.



Dear Sir

Dear Sir

Nov 8 1811

Si

I have the honor to inform you that the  
dawn of yesterday terminated an action between the Troops  
under my command and the whole of the Prophet's forces  
their precipitate retreat leaving a number of the warriors  
dead on the field and the subsequent abandonment of their Town  
of their Town (which was particularly fortified) attest  
a complete and decisive victory. It has however  
been dearly purchased. . . .

#### BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE, NOVEMBER 7, 1811

Complete freedom and security was not guaranteed the  
citizens of Indiana Territory until the close of the War of 1812,  
whereby the threat of Indian hostilities was completely  
eliminated. The Battle of Tippecanoe was the opening phase  
of this war in the West. It was not a decisive battle; both the  
American and the Indians suffered heavy losses. The letter  
shown here from Governor Harrison, Commander in Chief,  
to the Secretary of War, written on November 8, 1811, the  
day following the battle, gives an account of the encounter.  
It opens, "I have the honor to inform you that the dawn of  
yesterday terminated an action between the Troops under my  
command and the whole of the Prophet's forces. Their  
precipitate retreat leaving a number of the warriors dead  
on the field and the subsequent abandonment of their Town . . .  
attest for us a complete and decisive victory. It has however  
been dearly purchased. . . ." The original letter is in the  
National Archives.



Article I

§ 1 That the general, great and essential principles of liberty and free Government may be recognized and unalterably established. We declare That all men are born equally free and independent and have certain natural, inherent, and inalienable rights among which are the enjoying and defense of their lives, liberty, and property, and that all power is inherent in the people and that they are entitled to alter or change their government whenever they shall find it necessary to do so.

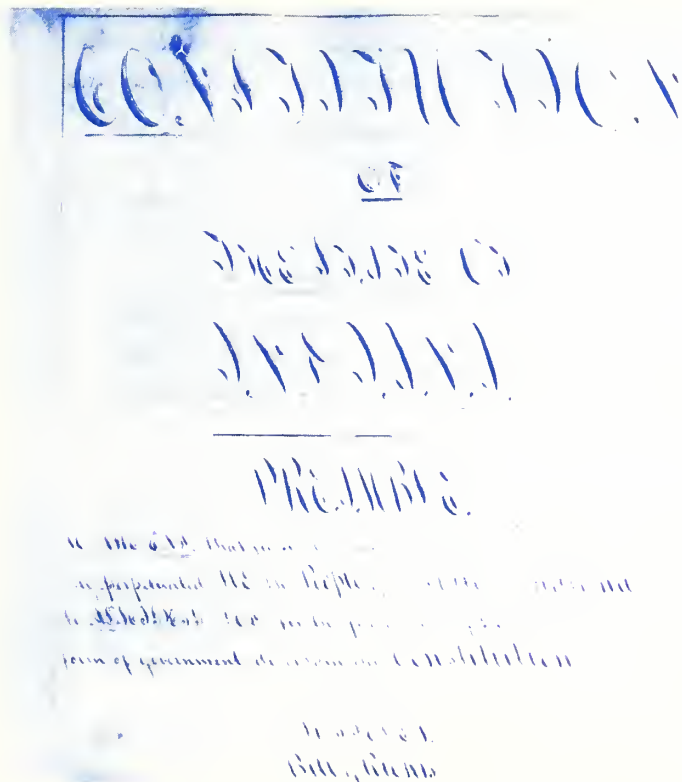
§ 2 That all power is inherent in the people and that they are entitled to alter or change their government whenever they shall find it necessary to do so.

Jonathan Jennings  
President of the Convention and  
Delegate from the County of Clark

## INDIANA'S FIRST CONSTITUTION, 1816

By 1815 the population of Indiana Territory had reached 63,000, making it eligible for statehood. With the permission of Congress, delegates were elected in various counties of Indiana Territory to meet at Corydon on June 10, 1816, to draft a constitution for statehood. Shown here are part of the first article of the constitution that was adopted, and the end of the last page giving the date, June 29, 1816, and signature of Jonathan Jennings, president of the Convention. This document is in the Indiana Historical Society Library. The state was admitted into the Union by resolution of Congress on December 11, 1816.

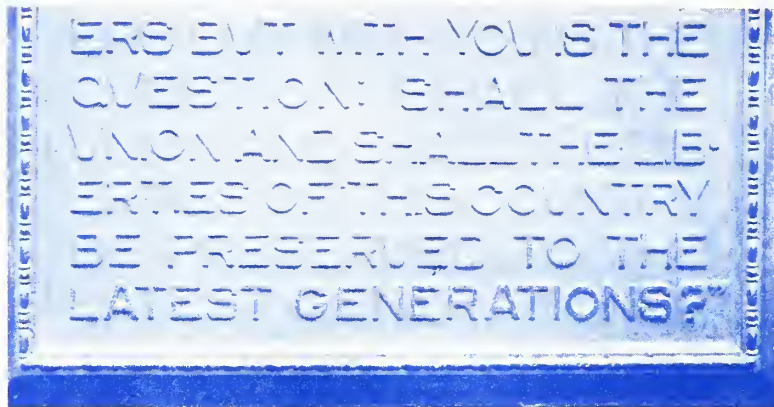




## SECOND CONSTITUTION, 1851

The question of revising the first constitution was voted on favorably by the people in 1849. Delegates were elected and the convention met from October 7, 1850, to February 10, 1851. The new constitution strengthened democracy by bringing the government nearer the people. Many state and local offices that had been appointive were made elective. The preamble reads: "To the end, that justice be established, public order maintained, and liberty perpetuated, we the people of the State of Indiana, grateful to Almighty God for the free exercise of the right to choose our own form of government, do ordain this constitution." The original document is in the Indiana State Library.





*What are owned & held are not then  
 organized in certain States & the Union is  
 for the purpose the maintenance of the  
 of the United States and the maintenance  
 and money in the collection of the  
 violence to and other States with the  
 States, and other States in the  
 of the Union, and the maintenance  
 of the property, and the maintenance*

### THE UNION PRESERVED

The task of preserving the Union against withdrawal by dissatisfied states fell to Abraham Lincoln, who had lived his formative years in southern Indiana. Pausing in Indianapolis on his way to Washington to be inaugurated President of the United States, Lincoln told the people that "the liberties of this country" depended on them for preservation. He was hopeful that civil war could be averted, but the Confederate attack on Fort Sumter left no alternative. Gov. Morton's call for volunteers, the draft of which is shown above, came two months after Lincoln's visit, on April 16, 1861. Lincoln's words are on the plaque at the Claypool Hotel, Indianapolis, and Morton's proclamation is in the Indiana State Library.



*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there be granted to the several States, for the purpose hereinafter mentioned, an amount of public land to be apportioned to each*

CHAPTER V.

AN ACT to Incorporate an University in the Indiana Territory.

**W**HEREAS the independence, happiness and energy of every republic depends (under the influence of the declivities of Heaven) upon the wisdom, virtue, talents and energy, of its citizens and rulers.

And whereas, science, literature, and the liberal arts, contribute in an eminent degree, to improve those qualities and acquirements.

And whereas, learning hath ever been found the ablest advocate of genuine liberty, the best supporter of rational religion, and the source of the only acquire.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

AN ACT to establish a State Seminary, and for other purposes.

APPROVED, January 20, 1820.

SEC. 1. *BE it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, That*

KNOWLEDGE MEANS LIBERTY

Our freedoms can be preserved only by an informed electorate. The importance of education in a democracy was recognized by the framers of our fundamental documents. They wrote:

"Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."—Ordinance of 1787.

"Knowledge and learning generally diffused" are "essential to the preservation of a free government."—Constitution of 1816.

"Knowledge and learning, generally diffused throughout a community, being essential to the preservation of a free government; it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to encourage, by all suitable means, moral, intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvement." Constitution of 1851.

Through the aid of Federal land grants, Vincennes University was established in 1806, Indiana University in 1820, and Purdue in 1865. Pages from the printed laws in the Indiana State Library are pictured.



WM. B. BURFORD PTG. CO.  
INDIANAPOLIS



Dale Indiana, 1953. HUFFMAN MILL, Spencer County, Ind.

Abe Lincoln went here to Mill, when he lived in Indiana at the age of 7 to 21 years. Going horseback and with wagon.

Copied from news paper clipping. By O.V. Brown, Dale Indiana.  
\*\*\*\*\*

George Huffman my grandfather, who was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1784, returned emigrated to Knox County, in 1804, remaining there four years, after which time he went to Kentucky, where he remained a like period, when he decided to return to Indiana. In 1812, Together with his wife, formerly Nancy McDaniel, and their son John Harrison Huffman, Who became my father, they wended their way to the spot since known as Huffman's Mills, ( or Huffman P.O.) where he entered a track of land consisting of eleven hundred acres.

"At this time the town of Troy had not yet been laid out; It being an old wood-yard where cord wood was sold to the boats that plied up and down the river, and ~~at~~ around which a few white settlers were to be found; but between this place and the point on Anderson River where the Huffmans settled, there was not a single white settler to greet the eye of the sturdy pioneer.

"Think of it ' A man, his wife, and babe, ten miles from the nearest trading post; twenty-five miles from the nearest blacksmith shop, which was at Rockport; and sixty miles from the mill, which was at Crooked creek in Kentucky; and in such a wilderness ! The first meagre corn crop (1813) was a failure. My grandfather was obliged to go on horseback to Harrison county; (Indiana) to procure corn for family's bread: carry it past his own home to the mill in Kentucky, and then back home again.

"Under such circumstances, it is needless to say my grandmother's time was not expended on preparing the many fancy articles of today's menu, and little food was wasted. Her mode of cooking was by the open fireplace where an iron crane was used on which pots and teakettle were swung; also a dutch oven or 'Skillet-and-lid' which was placed over hot embers on the hearth and the lid covered with glowing coals, in which she placed her 'Corn dodgers' or anything else she wanted to bake."

"It seems that necessity is not only the mother of invention but is the mother of construction as well; for in 1816--the year Indiana was admitted to statehood--my grandfather constructed a rude mill here on Anderson river, a few rods from where we now are. People came a distance of twenty miles to help at the 'Mill-raising', since such a gathering was not only considered a sort of picnic or frolic for the pioneers; but it was also a great advantage to all to have a mill near by.

"This mill house was built of round logs cut from the primeval forest. and the mill proper was constructed almost wholly of wood. Having what is known as a 'tub-wheel' with wooden gearing. The buhrs-- which were also home made--were fashioned from flinty rocks from the surrounding country.

"In the course of time, other settlers---Woodruff Chowning, John Jackson, John McKim and several others, including my uncle James, Mike and John Huffman,--had arrived and decided to cast their lot on the struggling frontier. Their arrival not only increased the demand for grinding but made a sawmill a necessity. To meet these demands, my grandfather erected a saw-mill; one of 'sash' or 'up-and-down' saw being used instead of the circular saw of today; and also a much larger grist-mill. This new mill had a frame building, with two sets of buhrs and a rather rudely improvised bolt for separating the bran from the flour. see page # 2



Sheet Number two  
 HUFFMANS MILLS Spencer County, Indiana  
 \*\*\*\*\*

" My grandfather died in 1854, leaving his entire estate to my father who was his only son. He followed in the footsteps of his father in farming and milling; erecting a stone mill in 1856 that was burned 1869 or 1876. He never rebuilt this mill; but still used the old water mill.

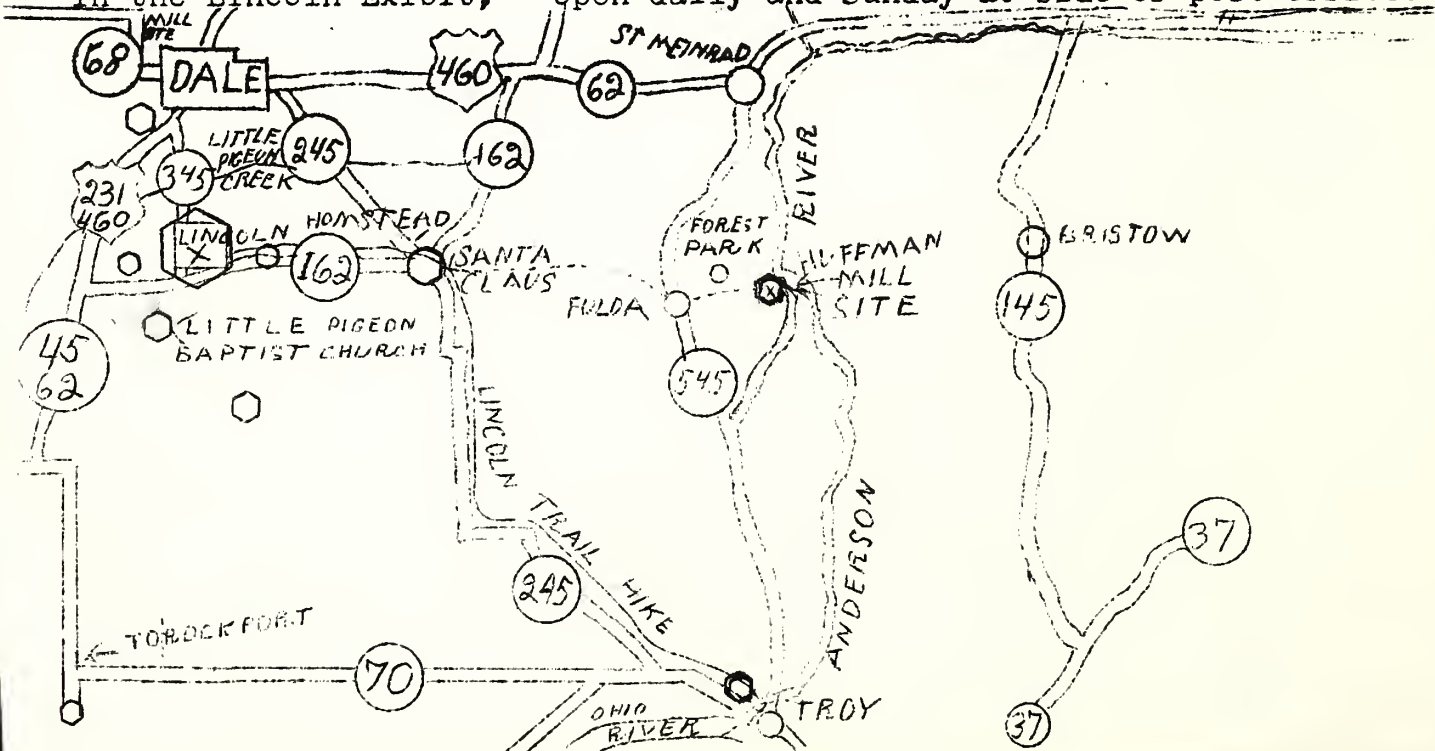
" In the meantime, in 1840, my father had married Jane Stapleton, a native of Kentucky. To this union were born nine children, six of whom reached maturity. George W. Huffman, the oldest son, was a member of the 49th Indiana Volunteers, and was killed at Vicksburg; and his brother, John Riley Huffman, saw two years service in the 13th Indiana Cavalry. Two sons and two daughters of this family survive. They are Mrs. Robert Kennedy of St. James, Missouri; Mrs. Ann Julia Scott of Troy; John Riley Huffman of Huffman's Mills; Lemuel Q. Huffman of Tell City (The writer of this paper)-----Our mother died in 1857 and in 1862 our father was married to Mrs. Elizabeth J. Harris, who survived him about ten years, he dying in 1887.

" Educational and religious advantages in pioneer days at Huffman were quite limited, indeed. At first the parents taught their children what their limited knowledge and spare time would permit. Later, a teacher was hired by the patrons at so much per pupil and school was conducted anywhere a room could be found available. The teachers, who could little more than read and write, like Ichabod Crane, boarded ---- and generally speaking were the type who believed that 'Licking and learning' go hand -in-hand, and as matter of fact did not 'Spare the rod' (Which grew abundantly) in----? Spoil the child .'

At last a school house was built (1844) ?. Teachers came and educational advantages increased. The pioneer preachers would find their way to a settlement and perhaps stay a week or \*\*\* more, preaching in the homes at night, and later in the school. Finally, the present church was built about 1875 by John W--deller".

( No date was on news paper clipping. O.V.B.)

See Huffman mill pictures and store records at Santa Claus Land, in the Lincoln Exhibit, ---Open daily and Sunday at side of post office.





2068 Sierra Way  
San Luis Obispo, California  
January 24, 1953

Dear Sir:

Your name has been suggested as a possible interested party in obtaining some information about Abraham Lincoln's childhood. I am taking the liberty of writing to you regarding the purchase of this information.

I had the good fortune to meet a very charming lady who is past 80 years old whose great-grandfather was a neighbor and friend of Abraham Lincoln's father when Abraham was 5 years old. She told me a number of very interesting things about the Lincoln family and I thought it was or would be of interest to other people and suggested that she write the facts and send them to Readers' Digest or some other magazine, but she said she was too old to start something like that. I asked her if she would tell it again just as she had told me and allow me to write it down in shorthand and that I would attempt to present it to a magazine and give her half of whatever remuneration I was able to obtain. She was most delighted, and did so. I have that information written and ready and if you are interested in buying it, please contact me.

As it is written, it covers about 3 pages of legal paper double-spaced. This lady has a large scrap book with many, many interesting items of the Lincoln family and her ancestors' political and social association with them which might be of added interest to you. I feel quite sure that she would cooperate with you in any further data that you would like to have, and you could arrange your own private terms with her for that additional information. It is quite possible that she would not even expect any remuneration for that and possibly would enjoy going over it with you. However, that would have to be between you two.

Would the story about Abraham Lincoln's early childhood be of any value to you, and to what extent? Will you please write me by return mail in the enclosed stamped envelope, telling me what, if any, this would be worth to you?

Thank you for an early reply.

Very truly,

*Mrs. Ernest Blake*  
Mrs. Ernest L. Blake

Dr. Louis A. Warren  
Director, Lincoln National Life Foundation  
Ft. Wayne, Indiana.



Mrs.J.R.DeAtley  
606 Kessler Boulevard, East Drive.  
Indianapolis, Indiana.  
October 28, 1954.

Mr.Louis A.Warren  
Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Dear Sir;

I understand you are an authority on Abraham Lincoln and have a very wonderful collection of Lincoln items. I am writing to you in regards to a chest now in my possession.

I purchased this chest from Mrs.Minnie McClure, grand-daughter of David Turnham. Mrs.McClure said it was given to her father by his father David Turnham, in turn her father gave it to her, as I understand he would never sell it and gave it to her to keep. However Mrs.McClure is now an elderly lady and living in a small apartment and was unable to keep the chest. Her daughter did not want it. I therefore purchased it from her.

She says it is in its original condition, it has some of the original glass pulls, Sandwich glass I believe, as they are blown glass knobs. I was able to locate the missing amount in practically the same knob, just a trifle larger.

The entire chest is solid wood, however the front is veneered. That is the drawer fronts and the curved columns on either side.

I have tried to make a rough sketch of the chest, perhaps you can gather some idea as to the type from my sketch. The top drawer is curved and stands out over the other three drawers. Their is also a curved piece at the base of the drawers.

I am sending you a copy of the paper Mrs.McClure notarized as well as excerpts from various letters.

If you would be interested in this piece for your museum I would appreciate hearing from you.

I need not say too much about this item as you are probably better acquainted with its rarity than I. However as far as I can find the only other two pieces made by the Lincolns', are both in museums Mr.George Turnham, gave his to the Evansville Museum, ( if I have it correctly) while Mrs .McClures father kept his. The other piece I believe is in the Ford museum, you will know.

Hoping to hear from you,

I remain

Sincerely yours,

*Gertrude DeAtley*

Gertrude Darling DeAtley.  
(Mrs.J.R.DeAtley)



Quote from Mr. Russell Laird's letter to Mrs. DeAtley. Mr. Russell Laird, Supt, Lincoln State Park, Lincoln City, Indiana.

From letter written March 8, 1954;

Quote;

"We do not have any information here, may we refer you to Mr. O. V. Brown, Dale, Indiana."

\*\*\*\*\*

Answer to Mrs. DeAtley's letter written March 17, 1954.  
The following is excerpts from Mr. Brown's letter.

Quote;

"Will say I do not know anything about the large chest of drawers you have made of cherry wood. However I do know Mr. Thomas Lincoln, father of Abraham Lincoln made furniture of cherry trees."

"The copy cupboard mentioned by George Turnham in a copy of a letter I have, is in the museum at Evansville."

\*\*\*\*\*

Some references were made to the story of Abraham Lincoln borrowing the law book from the Turnhams, the following is a quote at the end of this reference.

Quote;

"Other than this you can depend on anything the family tell you!"

\*\*\*\*\* \*

Mr. Brown states he then talked to Mrs. S. Grant Johnson about the chest. Mrs. Johnson lives in Dale, Indiana.

Quote from Mr. Brown's letter;

"Mrs. Johnson says David Turnham's furniture was devided, and she does not know about the piece you mention; but Mrs. Minnie McClure would most certainly know and tell the truth about it."

\*\*\*\*\*



COPY

COPY

COPY

COPY.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

I, MINNIE McCLURE DO HEREBY SWEAR  
THE CHEST I SOLD TO MR. & MRS. D EATLEY  
IS AN AUTHENTIC PIECE OF FURNITURE MADE BY  
ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND HIS FATHER! THE CHEST  
WAS MADE DURING THEIR PERIOD OF RESIDENCE  
IN SOUTHERN INDIANA? IT WAS MADE FOR MY  
GRANDFATHER AND GRANDMOTHER TURNHAM ALSO  
RESIDENTS OF SOUTHERN INDIANA.

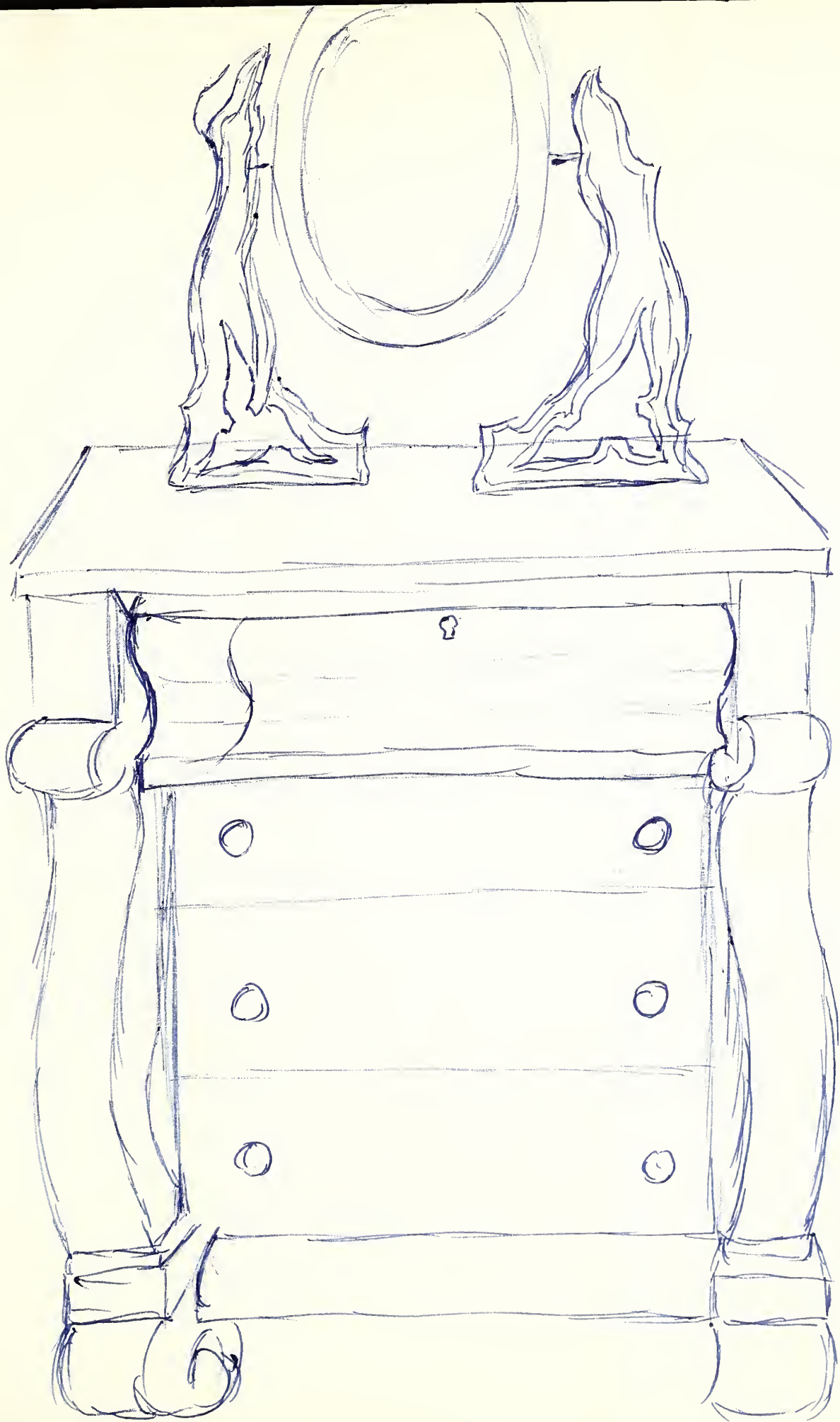
signed MINNIE McClure  
date Feb. 20, 1954

notorized by me WALTER MYres, Jr.  
this day of Feb 20, 1954.

Seal.

My Commission expires 11-24-54.







November 3, 1954

Mrs. J. R. DeAtley  
606 Kessler Boulevard  
East Drive  
Indianapolis, Indiana

My dear Mrs. DeAtley:

Thank you very much for calling to our attention the interesting piece of furniture which you have. Inasmuch as we have no provisions for the acquisition of curios and no room in which to display them, we would not be interested in acquiring the Thomas Lincoln cabinet.

Very truly yours,

LAW/JLA

Director



**Published for The Division of University Extension**

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*The  
Great Lakes States  
and  
Alaska and Hawaii  
in Literature*

**The University of Tennessee News Letter**

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**December 1959**







*The  
Great Lakes States  
and  
Alaska and Hawaii  
in Literature*

A MANUAL FOR SCHOOLS AND CLUBS

*By*

**David James Harkness**

*Director*

*Department of Program Planning and Library Services  
Division of University Extension*

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# Indiana

Indiana means "the land of Indians" and has produced writers who have presented Indian and pioneer days on the frontier in outstanding historical novels. It is called the Hoosier State because in the early days the men of Indiana were so big and strong that they never failed to hush any opponent—sometimes permanently! The bully of every town was called a "husher" and their French Louisiana neighbors pronounced the word "hoosher." The official state song is the bucolic Hoosier classic "On the Banks of the Wabash Far Away," laid and written at Terre Haute. The music is by Paul Dresser and the words by his brother Theodore Dreiser (who retained the original family name). "My brother Paul" is one of the characters in Dreiser's book titled "Twelve Men." Victor Mature appeared as Paul Dresser in the motion picture based on his life titled "My Gal Sal." Another well-known song is "Wabash Blues" and still another is "Down in Indiana." The song "Back Home in Indiana" was used in the movie "Home in Indiana" with Jeanne Crain and Lon McCallister, who also made a film titled "The Boy From Indiana." The movie "The Friendly Persuasion" presented the quiet beauty of southern Indiana accurately and was made from the novel by Jessamyn West, who was born in Indiana. This story of a family of Quakers living in Indiana at the time of the Civil War had Gary Cooper, Dorothy McGuire, and Tony Perkins in the cast. Miss West has also written "The Witch Diggers," laid on a "poor farm" in southern Indiana in 1899. "So Dear to My Heart" by Sterling North, laid in Pumpkin Hollow in Fulton Corners, Indiana, in 1903, was made into a Technicolor movie with Burl Ives as the farm boy's Uncle Hiram. Mr. North is also the author of "Reunion on the Wabash," a novel laid in a small town in Indiana. The favorite song "I'll Take You Home Again, Kathleen" was written in Plainfield by Thomas Westendorf. The birthplace of Cole Porter in Peru has the garden of the composer's mother which served as the inspiration for his song "An Old-Fashioned Garden." "Kokomo, Indiana" was a song in the movie "Mother Wore Tights"; "Indiana" was sung in the film "Five Little Pennies"; and "Gary, Indiana" is a number in the Broadway musical "The Music Man."

The state in which Abraham Lincoln spent the years from age seven to twenty-one observed the Lincoln Sesquicentennial in 1959 by putting "Lincoln Year" on its automobile license plates. Dr. Louis A. Warren,



who for many years was director of the Lincoln National Life Foundation in Fort Wayne, is the author of the 1959 book "Lincoln's Youth—Indiana Years (1816-1830)." Dr. R. Gerald McMurtry, the present director of the Foundation, is co-author with David J. Harkness of "Lincoln's Favorite Poets," published in 1959 by The University of Tennessee Press. This book shows how Lincoln first became familiar with the writings of Shakespeare, Burns, and Byron as a youth in southern Indiana. Bess V. Ehrmann of Rockport wrote "The Missing Chapter in the Life of Abraham Lincoln" about these Indiana years of the Railsplitter and also a book titled "Back Trails of Indiana." "Marked Corners" by Francesca Falk Miller of Chicago is a play in three acts about the young Lincoln in Indiana. William E. Wilson of Bloomington dramatized his novel titled "Abe Lincoln of Pigeon Creek." Other novels about the Indiana years are "Abe Lincoln at Loafer Station" by Anet Garrison, "For Us the Living" by Bruce Lancaster, and "Steamboat on the River" by Darwin Teilhet. "Bates House" by Clarence Bernadum of Indianapolis is a novel about the famous balcony speech which Lincoln made at this Indianapolis hotel. Books for young people about this period in Lincoln's life are "Out of the Wilderness" and "Three Rivers South" both by Virginia S. Eifert, "Frontier Beacon" by Marion Marsh, "Longshanks" by Stephen Meader, "Abe Lincoln's Other Mother" by Bernadine Bailey, and "They Knew Abe Lincoln—A Boy in Indiana" by Frances Cavanah. Betty Smith wrote a play titled "Story Told in Indiana" dealing with the boy Lincoln. The statue of "The Young Lincoln" by Paul Manship stands in front of the Lincoln National Life Foundation, which has the largest and most complete Lincoln library, in Fort Wayne. "The Lincoln of the People" statue by Charles Keck is in the courthouse square in Wabash.

The first important Indiana novel was "The Hoosier Schoolmaster" by Edward Eggleston (1871). The author was born in the quiet little village of Vevay on the Ohio River. The small, two-story brick house on Main Street is still standing. Ordained as a Methodist minister, though without attendance at any seminary, he became a circuit rider for a time. Out of his experiences he wrote the novels "The Circuit Rider" and "The Faith Doctor." "The Graysons" is interesting as being one of the first novels to include Lincoln as a character. He wrote a juvenile titled "The Hoosier Schoolboy" which was very popular. The frontier world of Indiana, Minnesota, and Illinois appeared in several of Eggleston's homespun novels, with the sharp contrasts of a settler's life that witnessed camp meetings and barbecues, corn-shuckings and revivals, husking bees and barn-raising, square dances and spelling bees. "The Hoosier Schoolmaster," based on his brother's adventures as a pioneer teacher, was one of the first of our regional novels. It was dramatized by Lee



Norvelle and was long a popular stage play, being made into a motion picture with Tom Brown. Another silent movie titled "A Hoosier Romance" had Colleen Moore in the leading role. George Cary Eggleston wrote the biography of his brother Edward titled "The First of the Hoosiers" and the novels "A Man of Honor," "Juggernaut," and "The Last of the Flatboats."

The most famous figure in Indiana literature during the later nineteenth century was James Whitcomb Riley. In popularity, only Longfellow, with whom he had much in common, surpassed him; and even Longfellow did not deal with folk themes in so thoroughgoing a fashion. Born in Greenfield, Riley grew up in the kindly, expansive, rural period of Indiana life. His experiences in this little county-seat town gave him material for such poems as "The Raggedy Man," "Little Orphant Annie," "The Ole Swimmin' Hole," and "When the Frost is on the Punkin." Riley is known as "the Hoosier Poet," "the Poet of the People," and "the Poet of the Schoolchildren." He expressed the folksy note of the Middle West—the neighborly spirit of so many of the settlers, their genial optimism, their homely domestic affections, and their pastimes and tasks—in a rural dialect which gives a fairly accurate report of the careless speech of uneducated farmers. The poet's birthplace, a log cabin in the back yard of the Riley homestead, a white clapboard ten-room country house which was built in 1850, is maintained as a museum by the city of Greenfield. His home on Lockerbie Street in Indianapolis, a two-and-a-half story Victorian house of brick and stone, has been kept up as a public shrine open to visitors. Most of the original furnishings have been preserved and the building is a treasure house of personal mementos, manuscripts, and the like. "An Old Sweetheart of Mine" (the title of a long poem by Riley) is a musical play with book and music by Julian Grey based on the writings of the Hoosier Poet. There is a statue of Riley in the courthouse square in Greenfield, purchased with funds from the schoolchildren of Indiana. Jeanette Covert Nolan, who was born in Evansville and lives in Indianapolis, has written a biography for young people titled "James Whitcomb Riley—Hoosier Poet." She and Horace Gregory and James T. Farrell wrote the essays in "Poet of the People: An Evaluation of James Whitcomb Riley" published by Indiana University Press, presented originally as a symposium at the University during the 1949 centennial of Riley's birth. Marcus Dickey is the author of the two-volume biography of Riley published by Bobbs-Merrill of Indianapolis. Richard Crowder has written "Those Innocent Years—The Inheritance and Legacy of a Victorian Hero: James Whitcomb Riley."

Meredith Nicholson was born in Crawfordsville and wrote the best-selling romance "The House of a Thousand Candles," which was made



into a motion picture. Some of the same characters reappeared in "Rosalind at Red Gate," in which an Indiana lake once again was made the locale for a tale of mistaken identity, enlivened by chases and pursuits. Both novels were dramatized by George Middleton. Nicholson also wrote "The Port of Missing Men," "Broken Barriers," "Hope of Happiness," "The Valley of Democracy," and a semi-autobiographical novel titled "A Hoosier Chronicle." "The Cavalier of Tennessee" is a biographical novel of Andrew Jackson, "The Hoosiers" a study of Indiana authors, and "The Poet" a fictional biography of James Whitcomb Riley. "Seven Authors of Crawfordsville, Indiana" is an interesting study by Dorothy Russo and Thelma Sullivan, as is "Art and Artists of Indiana" by Mary Q. Burnett.

Maurice Thompson was born in Fairfield and lived in Crawfordsville. His first book, "Hoosier Mosaics," is a collection of dialect sketches. "A Tallahassee Girl" is a Florida historical romance and "Alice of Old Vincennes" a historical novel based on George Rogers Clark's 1779 expedition in the Northwest Territory. Virginia Harned starred in the play "Alice of Old Vincennes" on Broadway in 1901, with Cecil B. De Mille in the cast. Charles Major was born in Indianapolis and practiced law in Shelbyville. He wrote the historical novels "When Knighthood Was in Flower" (made into a movie with Marion Davies and a Broadway stage hit with Julia Marlowe) and "Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall" (a stage success with Bertha Galland and May Robson and a movie with Mary Pickford), and another costume romance "Yolanda," in the movie version of which Marion Davies had the title role.

Lew Wallace was born in Brookville, son of a Congressman and Governor of Indiana and grandson of the first Congressman from Indiana. He was a lawyer in Covington and Crawfordsville before becoming a general in the Civil War. His first novel, "The Fair God," a romance of the Aztec world and the conquest of Mexico, was written as a result of his campaign in the Mexican War. "Ben Hur," published in 1880, is based on his studies of the character and doctrines of Christ. One of the best-selling novels of all time and clearly among the most important books ever written in America, it has been translated into most European languages as well as several Oriental ones. It was dramatized in 1900 and had a long and successful stage career. It was the outstanding motion picture of 1926, starring Ramon Novarro and Francis X. Bushman and costing five million dollars. Now in 1960 it is again a great spectacular Biblical film, two years in the making in Rome at a cost of fifteen million dollars and running over three hours and a half, with Charlton Heston and Stephen Boyd in the leading roles. When he was shown the elaborate treadmill used for the chariot race on the stage, Wallace is reported to



have exclaimed: "My God! Did I set all this in motion?" Now, eighty years after he wrote "Ben Hur: A Tale of the Christ," millions more will thrill to this moving and exciting drama and will pour into box-offices all over the world. Lew Wallace also wrote the novel titled "The Prince of India," "The Boyhood of Christ," a life of Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, and an autobiography. "Ben Hur Wallace" is a biography of this famous writer by Irving McKee. On Wallace Avenue in Crawfordsville is General Lew Wallace's study, a small domed building with a frieze representing characters from his books. Inside one may see the penciled manuscript of "Ben Hur." Nearby is the statue of Lew Wallace by Andrew O'Connor. Lloyd C. Douglas, who was born in Columbia City and began preaching in North Manchester, carried on the Indiana tradition of Biblical novels with "The Robe," made into the first Cinemascope motion picture with Richard Burton, and "The Big Fisherman," which was a 1959 Technicolor film with Howard Keel in the role of Simon Peter. A sequel to "The Robe" titled "Demetrius and the Gladiators" was made with Victor Mature in the role which he had played in the previous film.

George Barr McCutcheon was born near Lafayette and was educated at Purdue University there. He did newspaper work in Lafayette before moving to Chicago, where he wrote "Graustark," a romantic tale of an imaginary Balkan kingdom, which became a best-seller and was made into a motion picture with Beverly Bayne and Francis X. Bushman. Marion Davies starred in the movie version of his novel "Beverly of Graustark." He also wrote "The Prince of Graustark" and "Brewster's Millions," the latter being dramatized by Winchell Smith and starring Edward Abeles in New York. McCutcheon's own favorite of his novels was "Mary Midthorne," a realistic story of Indiana life. Kenyon Nicholson (no relation to Meredith) was born in Crawfordsville and graduated from Wabash College there. He wrote "The Barker," a play based on his own experiences with carnivals one summer in Upper New York State, which starred Walter Huston, Claudette Colbert, and Norman Foster on Broadway and Milton Sills, Betty Compson, and Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., in the Hollywood version. Other plays by him are "Eva the Fifth" and "Sailor, Beware!" the latter made into a movie. With Meredith Nicholson he wrote "Honor Bright."

Booth Tarkington, the prince of popular novelists, was born in Indianapolis and his first novel was titled "The Gentleman from Indiana." He was elected to the Indiana Legislature and from his experience in politics got the material for a book of stories titled "In the Arena." The small-town world of the Middle West was the setting of his novels, two of which won the Pulitzer Prize. "The Magnificent Ambersons" (1919 win-



ner) was made into a motion picture with Joseph Cotten, Agnes Moorehead, and Dolores Costello. "Alice Adams" (1922 winner) was filmed with Katharine Hepburn and Fred MacMurray in the leading roles. An earlier version had starred Florence Vidor. Tarkington's costume romance "Monsieur Beaucaire" was a silent movie with Rudolph Valentino and was later made with Bob Hope in the title role. "Penrod," "Penrod and Sam," and "Seventeen" are immortal pictures of small-town American youth. "Seventeen" was made into a stage play with Ruth Gordon and Paul Kelly, a silent movie with Jack Pickford and Louise Huff, and a talking picture with Betty Field and Jackie Cooper. It was also presented as a musical on Broadway with Ann Crowley and Kenneth Nelson. "Penrod" was a silent film with Wesley Barry, a talkie with Leon Janney, and a musical film titled "On Moonlight Bay." Other novels by Booth Tarkington are "The Turmoil" and "The Flirt" (both made into motion pictures), "The Plutocrat," "Kate Fennigate," "Ramsey Milholland," "Gentle Julia," "Penrod Jashber," "Little Orvie," "The Midlander," and "Claire Ambler." Tarkington dramatized "The Gentleman from Indiana" and with Harry Leon Wilson wrote "The Man from Home," also with an Indiana setting. His play "Clarence" was a Broadway hit with Helen Hayes and Alfred Lunt, the latter making his debut. "Booth Tarkington: Gentleman from Indiana" by James Woodress, professor of English at Butler University in Indianapolis, is the first biography of this noted writer of middle-class society. "The Gentleman from Indianapolis" edited by John Beecroft is a treasury of Tarkington's writings.

Theodore Dreiser was born in Terre Haute and lived in Sullivan, Evansville, and Warsaw. He attended the Indiana public schools, Catholic parochial schools, and, for a brief period, Indiana University. Revisiting his childhood home in middle life, he wrote "A Hoosier Holiday," a series of essays which catch in a mood of both nostalgia and critical appraisal the mellowness of Victorian Indiana and the grimness of the modern industrial state. Its vignette of an Indiana boyhood is one of the most delightful portraits of the Middle West in all literature. Dreiser's novels of realism include "Sister Carrie," "Jennie Gerhardt," "The Financier," "The Titan," "The Stoic," and "The Genius." His best-known novel is "An American Tragedy," which was made into a movie with Phillips Holmes and Sylvia Sidney and later was filmed as "A Place in the Sun" with Montgomery Clift, Elizabeth Taylor, and Shelley Winters. Dreiser's autobiography is titled "A Book About Myself." Burton Rascoe and R. H. Elias have written biographies of Dreiser. Indiana University Press published "The Stature of Theodore Dreiser" edited by Alfred Kazin and Charles Shapiro, the first collection of critical and biographical essays on Dreiser.



Indiana produced two outstanding humorists in Kin Hubbard and George Ade. Frank McKinney Hubbard was born at Bellfontaine, Ohio, and worked on newspapers in Indianapolis, Cincinnati, and Mansfield, Ohio. While touring Indiana on a campaign train in 1904 he made several sketches of rural characters. When these were printed in the Indianapolis *News* they caught the fancy of the editor, who urged Hubbard to do a series. Christened Abe Martin, Hubbard's rustic philosopher became one of the most beloved characters in American fiction. Collections of these good-humored sketches and essays were titled "Abe Martin, Brown County, Indiana" and "Abe Martin's Town Pump." Kin Hubbard lived in Indianapolis from 1901 until his death in 1930. George Ade was born near Kentland and spent his life in or near his native state, devoting his extraordinary talents to interpreting it. After his graduation from Purdue, he worked for several years on newspapers in Lafayette and Chicago. In his famous "Fables in Slang" he drew largely on the Indiana countryside for his characters, portraying them with the sympathy and truth of actual acquaintance. He shares with Hubbard the honor of producing the most authentic portraits yet created of Hoosier life, and with Riley the ability to give a touch of native Hoosier philosophy to his humorous sallies. He also wrote two very popular plays "The County Chairman" and "The College Widow." The first was made into a silent movie with Harold Lockwood and a talkie with Will Rogers in the title role. It had a Broadway revival in 1936 with Charles Coburn and Dorothy Stickney. "The College Widow" was a silent movie with Ethel Clayton and had a long run on Broadway with Dorothy Tennant. It was made into a musical comedy with music by Jerome Kern and titled "Leave it to Jane." This satire on college life in a Midwestern town, laid at Atwater College in Indiana, had a successful revival in New York in 1959. George Ade wrote the book for a popular musical, "The Sho-Gun," and the book and lyrics for the operetta "The Fair Co-ed," laid at Bringham College in Indiana. Elsie Janis had the lead in this show for which Gustav Luders wrote the music. George Ade's beautiful country home at Brook is maintained as a literary shrine and is visited each year by many admirers of this Grand Old Man of Indiana Literature who once said all the smart people come from Indiana, and the smarter they are, the sooner they come.

One of the most widely read and widely loved authors in America was Gene Stratton Porter, who was born on a 240-acre farm called Hopewell near Fort Wayne. She based her most popular novel "The Harvester," made into a movie with Russell Hardie, on the personality of her father, a patriarchal old man. She romanticized her brother Leander, drowned at eighteen in the Wabash River, as "Laddie." Mrs. Porter presented a sentimental picture of life in an idealized Limberlost. Her novels of the



Limberlost Swamp in eastern Indiana, just south of Fort Wayne and close to the storied Wabash, include "A Girl of the Limberlost," made into a movie with Jean Parker and Eric Linden, and "Freckles," which sold more than two million copies. She also wrote "The Song of the Cardinal," "At the Foot of the Rainbow," "Michael O'Halloran," "A Daughter of the Land," "Her Father's Daughter," "The White Flag," and "The Keeper of the Bees." Her daughter, Jeanette Stratton Porter Meehan, wrote the biography of her mother titled "The Lady of the Limberlost" and also a sequel to her mother's novel which she called "Freckles Comes Home." Mrs. Porter's home at Geneva is visited annually by many people who have nostalgic recollections of the picturesque country and people whom this author described in her best-selling novels.

At one time the best-selling book of non-fiction and the best-selling novel in the United States were written by two near-neighbors in Bloomington, Dr. Alfred Kinsey of "Report" fame and Ross Lockridge, Jr. The latter wrote the long novel of the Civil War titled "Raintree County," which has an Indiana setting and was made into a memorable motion picture in Technicolor with Elizabeth Taylor, Montgomery Clift, and Eva Marie Saint. Worn out by the strain of writing and rewriting this monumental volume tracing the history of an Indiana community named Waycross, the author committed suicide in 1948, the year of its publication. A 1958 novel by Lynne Doyle, an 18-year-old student at Indiana State Teachers College in Terre Haute, titled "The Riddle of Genesis County" has a similar locale in Indiana and uses some of the late Mr. Lockridge's concepts. The 1959 novel "Let Me Be Awake" by Stuart Mitchner, a 20-year-old student at Indiana University in Bloomington, won a college novel contest and deals with a boy who returns to Indiana at the end of his freshman year in a small college in the East. The author's father is professor of English at Indiana University and his mother is promotion director of the Indiana University Press, which published "The Deaths at Paragon, Indiana" by John Woods, an interesting collection of narrative-dramatic poems.

Hoagy Carmichael was born in Bloomington and wrote the popular song "Star Dust" while a student at Indiana University. He also wrote "Can't Get Indiana Off My Mind," "Chimes of Indiana," and "When the Frost is on the Punkin" with lyrics by James Whitcomb Riley, who used to ride the infant Hoagy on his shoulder. He wrote a tone poem titled "Brown County in Autumn" for the Indianapolis Symphony and a ballet score titled the "Johnny Appleseed Suite." He has written the autobiography titled "The Stardust Road" and has appeared in a number of motion pictures singing his own compositions. Vachel Lindsay wrote a poem titled "In Praise of Johnny Appleseed" and Bernard C. Schoenfeld



is the author of a folk play titled "Little Johnny Appleseed." John Chapman, the folk hero who became the legendary Johnny Appleseed, died at 72 in Allen County and is buried in Fort Wayne. Indiana University Press published "Johnny Appleseed: Man and Myth" by Robert Price, who spent 25 years following the trail of the Yankee tree-peddler whose remarkable adventures in Ohio and Indiana have become a colorful part of our American heritage.

Joseph Hayes, a native of Indianapolis and a graduate of Indiana University wrote the novel "The Desperate Hours," laid in Indianapolis where he lives today. Based on an actual incident of terror in a Midwestern home, it was dramatized for Broadway by the author and received the Antoinette Perry Award as the best play of the 1954-55 season. Paul Newman starred in the play and Humphrey Bogart in the motion picture version. Mr. Hayes and his wife Marijane collaborated on the 1957 novel "Bon Voyage" about an Indiana family and the summer they spend touring Europe. Will H. Hays, Jr., son of the late film czar and a screenwriter in his own right, teaches creative writing at Wabash College in Crawfordsville. His first novel, "Dragon Watch," is set in "Harrisville," a semi-rural coal-mining community in southern Indiana. Mr. Hays was raised in an Indiana agricultural and mining community and worked in Sullivan. James McCague has written "The Big Ivy," a railroad novel about the Indiana Valley Line, and "The Great Gold Mountain," a 1958 novel which is about an Indiana town at the turn of the century, and the impact on its peacefulness of a group of stock swindlers.

Edwin Way Teale, a graduate of Earlham College in Richmond, has written "Dune Boy" about his life as a boy on the northern Indiana farm of his pioneer grandparents. Emily Kimbrough was born in Muncie and has written the autobiographical "How Dear to My Heart" and "The Innocents from Indiana." William E. Wilson was born in Evansville and is professor of English at Indiana University in Bloomington. His 1959 "On the Sunny Side of a One-Way Street" contains amusing, informal, and nostalgic recollections of his Indiana boyhood in the second decade of this century. His novel "The Strangers" has an Indiana setting. He has written "The Wabash" in the Rivers of America Series and "Big Knife: The Story of George Rogers Clark." "Gone Are the Days" by Bruce Bell is a true and warmhearted story of Hoosier childhood in the horse-and-buggy days. "The Indiana Home" by Logan Esarey is a beautiful example of good history and fine printing, designed by Bruce Rogers and published by Indiana University Press. "The Plums Hang High" by Gertrude E. Finney, a native of Indiana, is based on the experiences of the author's maternal grandmother, who came to a Midwest farm from England in 1868. "A Field Full of People" by Robert Hazel



is laid in rural Indiana. Mr. Hazel, who was born in Indiana, has also written the novel titled "The Lost Year."

Jeanette Covert Nolan was born in Evansville and lives in Indianapolis. For five summers she directed the workshop in juvenile writing at Writers' Conferences on the campus of Indiana University. She has also taught classes in creative writing at the Indianapolis Extension Center of Indiana University. In 1954 she was voted the outstanding Hoosier Children's Book Author of the Year for her biography "George Rogers Clark: Soldier and Hero," which was a Junior Literary Guild selection. She has written "Hoosier City: The Story of Indianapolis" in the Cities of America Biographies Series. Marjorie Hill Allee grew up on a farm near Carthage. Her book for girls titled "Ann's Surprising Summer" is set on the Lake Michigan dunes. "Susanna and Tristram," "Judith Lankester," and "A House of Her Own" deal with the scenes and accustomed speech of her Indiana childhood. "The Wabash Knows the Secret" by Elizabeth H. Friermood is a story of life on the Wabash River in the 1880's written for older boys and girls. Another book for young people by this author is titled "Hoosier Heritage." "Harmony Ahead" by Julilly Kohler is a book for teen-agers about the idealistic group of settlers at Robert Owens' colony in New Harmony. "The After-Harvest Festival" by Dorothy Fry Arbuckle is a junior historical novel set in Indiana in the 1860's. "Ernie Pyle: Boy from Back Home" by Ellen Wilson is a book for children which presents the childhood of the famous World War II correspondent on an Indiana farm. Caroline Dale Snedeker was born in New Harmony and spent her childhood in Mount Vernon, Indiana. She has written two books for young people about Robert Owens and the New Harmony experiment, "The Beckoning Road" and "The Town of the Fearless" and the adult novel "Seth Way: A Romance of New Harmony."

Richard E. Banta of Crawfordsville compiled and edited "Indiana Authors and Their Books," published by Wabash College, and "Hoosier Caravan: A Treasury of Indiana Life and Lore" containing selections from the writings of residents of Indiana, published by Indiana University Press. He is the author of "The Ohio" in the Rivers of America Series. "The Indianapolis 500" is the story of the motor speedway race from its establishment in 1909 to the fiftieth anniversary year written by Brock W. Yates. Paul H. Giddens is the author of "The Standard Oil Company of Indiana: Oil Pioneer of the Middle West," an objective history of the fourth largest industrial concern in the United States. Indiana University Press published Lewis Atherton's "Main Street on the Middle Border," the story of the influence of the small Midwestern town on the culture and social history of this country. The sociologist Robert S. Lynd was born in Albany and with his wife Helen wrote "Middletown" and "Middle-



town in Transition," using Muncie as the representative America city. Among political historians of Indiana are Albert J. Beveridge, Claude Bowers, and Charles and Mary Beard. Elmer Davis was born in Aurora and wrote "But We Were Born Here" and "We Lived in Indiana Too." Jeannette Covert Nolan wrote "Lives With a Hoosier Accent." Margaret Weymouth Jackson lived in Spencer and wrote the novel "Hour of Victory." LeRoy MacLeod's "The Years of Peace" and "The Crowded Hill" have their setting in the Wabash Valley. Louis Ludlow's best-known book of fiction is titled "In the Heart of Hoosierland." The George Rogers Clark Memorial at Vincennes recalls the biography "Background to Glory" by John Bakeless and "George Rogers Clark: Soldier in the West" by Walter Havighurst. Kermit Hunter wrote an outdoor drama about Clark which was presented at Vincennes. John Rogers Cox, a native of Terre Haute, has done the painting "Gray and Gold," a perfect picture of an Indiana wheat field. Max Ehrmann of Terre Haute wrote the well-known poem "Prayer." William Vaughn Moody was born in Spencer and grew up in New Albany. His play of the West titled "The Great Divide" was a Broadway hit and was twice made into motion pictures. David Graham Phillips was born in Madison and wrote novels like "Susan Lenox: Her Fall and Rise," which was made into a movie with Greta Garbo and Clark Gable. Three Hoosier humorists are Will Cuppy, a native of Auburn ("How to Tell Your Friends from the Apes" and "How to Become Extinct"), Don Herold, who was born in Bloomfield ("There Ought to Be a Law," "Strange Bedfellows," "Our Companionate Goldfish," "Love That Golf," and "Drunks Are Driving Me to Drink"), and Herb Shriner of radio and television who grew up in Fort Wayne.

A beautiful Literary Map of Indiana in color has been prepared by the Indiana Council of Teachers of English and the Indiana College English Association and may be ordered from Seward S. Craig, Chairman, Thomas Carr Howe High School, Indianapolis, for \$1.50.



# Michigan

The Wolverine or Lake State got its name from two Algonquian Indian words meaning "great lake" and thus this "pleasant peninsula" belongs in the Great Lakes States. The Water Wonderland is a literary wonderland too, for Michigan has supplied American literature with many fine tales of Indian and frontier life. James Fenimore Cooper lived in the state for a short time and used it as background for his novel "Oak Openings." Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, a pioneer recorder of Indian lore and legend, provided in his "Algic Researches" the source book that Henry Wadsworth Longfellow used in writing "The Song of Hiawatha," the epic poem of the Indian, which is laid in Michigan's Upper Peninsula. The Schoolcraft House is still standing in the old Great Lakes city of Sault Ste Marie, the third-oldest surviving community in the United States.

Mackinac Island, famous for Grand Hotel and its huge veranda, is the setting for a number of excellent historical novels. Fort Michilimackinac was known as "the Gibraltar of the Lakes," since this three-and-a-half square mile dot of United States soil, perched at the meeting place of Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior, controlled the water gateway to half a continent. Myron David Orr is writing a series of four novels laid there. The first was "The Citadel of the Lakes" and the second is titled "Mission to Mackinac," a romance laid there during the period of the War of 1812 based on actual records and legends. The Anne Table, a large bronze memorial on the island honoring Constance Fenimore Woolson, reminds readers that this author wrote "Anne," a romantic novel of Mackinac Island during the Civil War period. "The Voyageur" by Dirk Gringhuis is a book for young people laid at Fort Michilimackinac and "Beaver Trail" by Regina Z. Kelly is a juvenile laid at Mackinac Island at the time of the fur-trading rendezvous in 1811. "Straits of Mackinac" by William Ratigan is the saga of the Upper Great Lakes country from Indians and explorers to present-day shipping and the building of the Mackinac Bridge. "Miracle Bridge at Mackinac" was written by David B. Steinman, chief designer of the world's greatest bridge. "Mighty Mac" by Lawrence A. Rubin is the picture story of the building of the world's longest suspension bridge, five miles long and costing one hundred million dollars.

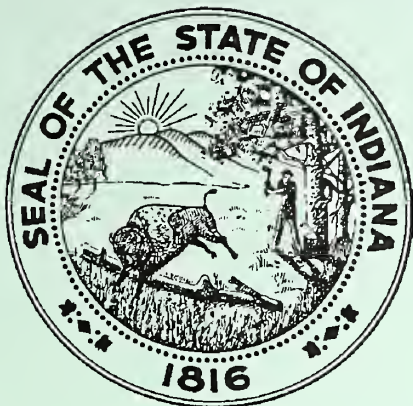












# **Indiana's Documentary Heritage: Planning for the Future**

**A Report to the Citizens of Indiana  
from the  
Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board,  
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# Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board

## January 1989

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The State Coordinator and Advisory Board were appointed by the Governor according to the National Historical Publications and Records Commission rules contained in the *Federal Register*, part 1206. The State Coordinator appointment is in Subpart B, section 1206.36. The State Board appointment and duties are in Subpart B, section 1206.38.

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This report is available free on request while copies remain. Please enclose \$2.00 to cover the cost of shipping. Send to the Indiana Historical Bureau, Room 408, 140 North Senate Avenue, Indianapolis, IN 46204-2296.

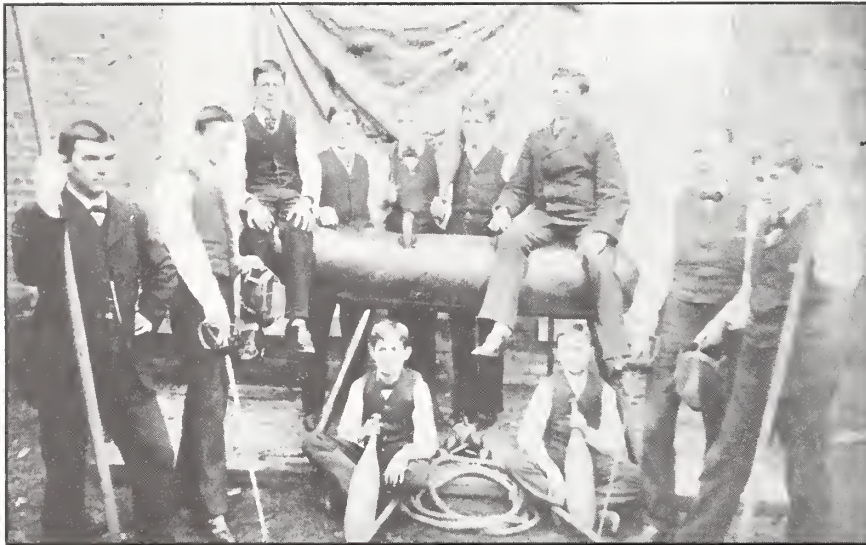


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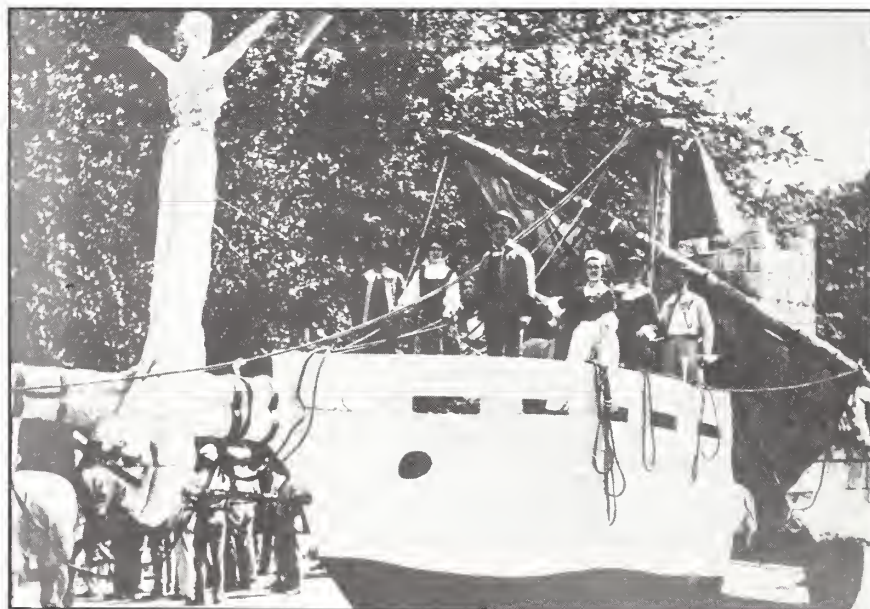
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*These photographs from the 1988-1989 exhibit "The Athenaeum Turners and the German-Americans of Indianapolis" illustrate the riches in historical collections around the state. The float pictured below commemorated German immigration to America at the opening parade of the 1905 Turnfest in Indianapolis. A group of Indianapolis Turners in the mid-1880s is pictured above. The Turner societies were started in the 1850s by German immigrants. Throughout the late nineteenth century they were the leading German-American athletic, social, and cultural organizations in the country. Courtesy Eric Pumroy, Special Collections and Archives, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis.*





# From Governor Evan Bayh

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OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR  
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA 46204 - 2797

EVAN BAYH  
GOVERNOR

August 16, 1989

To the Citizens of Indiana:

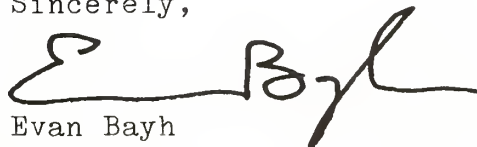
I congratulate the members of the Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board on the completion of this first comprehensive review of the condition of Indiana's historical records.

Our state's extensive and valuable collections of historical records need attention and care as this report indicates. In addition, we need to insure that historical records being generated daily that are not in collections and records are preserved so that future generations of Hoosiers will have complete resources documenting their heritage.

The problems, issues and needs stated in this report should be carefully examined. The development of cost-effective strategies for dealing with them should be considered. Leadership from the Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board and state cultural agencies must be matched with support from the private sector. Most important, however, is the need for individual citizens to understand that they too are important to the preservation of Indiana's historical records.

Indiana's history is a source of pride to us all, and the historical records that document our history and culture are crucial to preserving our identity as a state. The Advisory Board has brought many issues to our attention regarding the future well-being of that documentary heritage and has suggested ways to address those issues. I urge you to join with the Advisory Board and those who are working toward planning for the future.

Sincerely,



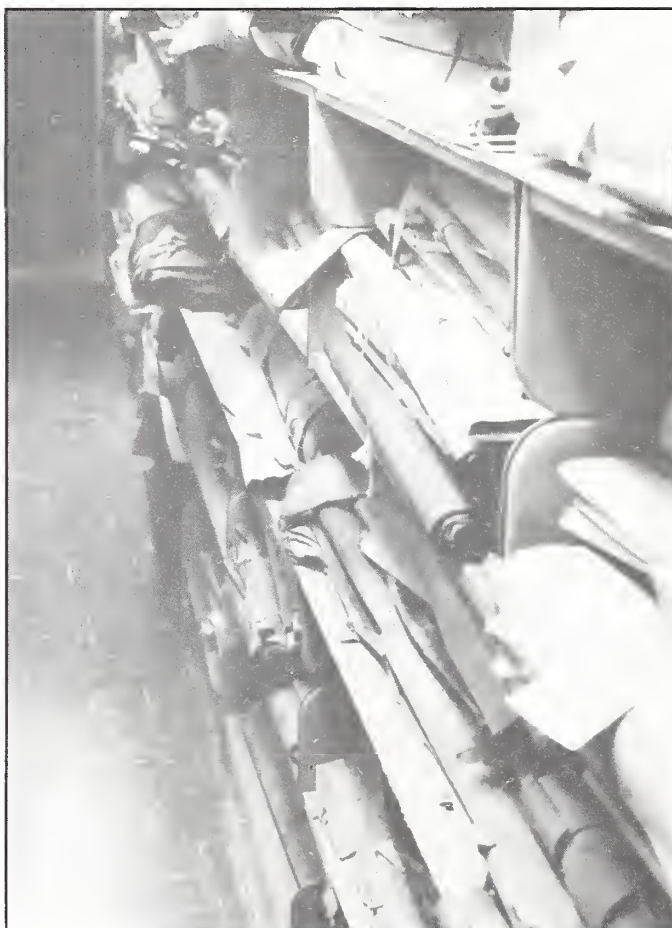
Evan Bayh



Valuable collections often are endangered by acidic cardboard boxes, rubber bands, and other conditions that damage records. This collection is useless to researchers in its present condition—uncatalogued and potentially damaged further by each examination. Careful processing and proper storage in a repository makes such resources available for study. Courtesy Indiana Historical Society.



The Lilly Library, Indiana University Bloomington, received a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to process and conserve the collection of drawings and blueprints from Indiana's Howard Ship Yards. The materials presently reside in metal map cases—unrolled, flattened, and catalogued—available for use by researchers. Courtesy Lilly Library, Indiana University.





## What Is Indiana's Documentary Heritage?

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The pages that follow provide a description of the process, the participants, and the content of this assessment directed by the Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board.

There are short sections clearly labeled to describe the elements; there are photographs to illustrate positive and negative aspects; there are facts, figures, assumptions, and generalizations; there are recommendations. All of this material was compiled to fulfill a federal requirement to participate in the records grants program of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. This process is directed toward a better understanding of the status of Indiana's historical records and the factors that affect them, because **many of those records are at risk.**

Why bother? What is Indiana's documentary heritage? The agencies, institutions, and officials mentioned throughout these pages labor on a daily basis to fulfill their obligation to the law and to their constituencies. The records they produce or handle contain the most important and the most mundane information about individual lives and about the agencies and people that govern them. Many of the records are of short term use, but some contain the essence of those individual lives and the collective society in which those lives are lived. Historical records are not just the productions of governments; they include the letters of your ancestors, your family photographs, and the minute books of your club or church. If we lose the historical records, can we preserve the knowledge of where we came from, who we are, where we are going, and why?

Some may differ regarding details or conclusions of this report, but general opinion must agree that it is a beneficial document for Indiana's historical records community and for Indiana's citizens. This report must initiate discussion and further study at many levels so that individual citizens realize that the issues here do have relevance to their lives, and that they can make a difference— as a voter, as a worker, as a volunteer, for example— in bringing about a climate in which the care and use of historical records is a natural concern of citizenship.

This report must result in action; its recommendations must be addressed. As this report is read and reacted to, communication and partnerships must result which will assure continued progress in the preservation of those records that ultimately help to preserve our way of life.

Pamela J. Bennett  
State Coordinator





*Skilled conservators and technicians use very basic techniques such as cleaning, humidifying, flattening, etc. when it is appropriate to preserve records in their physical form. Indiana Commission on Public Records technician Jean Spivey works in the Conservation Laboratory (above). Below, Ramona Duncan, conservator for the Indiana Historical Society, works on a very delicate task using a stereomicroscope. Photograph by Ray Boomhower.*





## Where Do We Go from Here?

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This report is just a start and is only a partial story that will change as Indiana organizations and individuals change. As this report is being prepared for printing, changes are being considered in the Commission on Public Records based on consultant reports for government reorganization. A national preservation conference has inspired the initiation of a state coalition to lead the preparation of a statewide plan for conservation and preservation of Indiana materials.

In order to bring results from the recommendations in this report, more current information is needed and many more players must join the team effort. The survey information reported here is from 1984; there has been change, but we need to know how much and where. The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board has committed itself to assume a leadership role—common in many states—and to become an example to encourage continuing partnerships needed to improve the status of Indiana's historical records. In order to make such leadership a reality the Board needs appointments by the Governor of more members, and those appointments must begin the coalition phase of leadership that will bring records custodians, users, and providers into a long term partnership for Indiana's future.

The Board will implement the leadership role recommended in the report

- by bringing the report recommendations to the attention of the Governor, General Assembly, and heads of related organizations in the state;
- by preparing a plan that incorporates the recommendations with specific time lines and persons/organizations assuming responsibility;
- by monitoring and revising this long-range plan on a regular basis and reporting to interested parties on its progress.

The Board must also take other steps to begin forming the necessary broad base of support for progress:

- revise the State Plan required by NHPRC in line with the report recommendations;
- apply for operating funds from the NHPRC so that Board members can fulfill necessary meeting obligations and provide materials within the state;
- hold meetings with the Society of Indiana Archivists to promote the report and ask for input into the revised State Plan;
- make contact with other relevant professional groups and, through newsletters and other means available, inform them of the report and ask for input into the revised State Plan;
- publicize NHPRC grant opportunities and encourage more and better grant applications from Indiana;
- seek ways to provide funding for projects in the state through a regrant program in time to apply for the June 1, 1990 NHPRC deadline;
- work to have legislation for an adequate local government records program and desired amendments to the Commission on Public Records legislation in the 1991 General Assembly following a study committee for that purpose in the interim.



*Properly processed and stored records are placed in acid free containers on stable shelving and carefully labeled for easy retrieval for researchers. Photographs by Ray Boomhower and Tom Krasean.*



*Archives Division,  
Indiana Commission  
on Public Records.*



*Eli Lilly and Co. Archives.*



*Indiana Historical  
Society Library.*



# The Indiana Historical Records Assessment and Reporting Project—An Overview

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In the spring of 1981 the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC) invited its state Historical Records Advisory Boards to apply for grants of up to \$25,000 to carry out three activities:

- "to assess historical records conditions and needs in the state,"
- "to prepare recommendations as to how these needs might be met, and "
- "to report the findings and recommendations to the interested public" (*Guidelines and Goals*, 1).

The forty-three page manual *Guidelines and Goals*, issued in December 1981, discussed project administration, explained the four assessment areas in detail, provided sample survey forms and bibliographies of useful references, and outlined expectations for both the project report and actions resulting from the project report.

The first round of grant projects in 1982 included twenty-seven states. The available reports from these projects were reviewed by NHPRC consultants and state Historical Records Coordinators at a conference in 1983; the reports and conference recommendations were published in 1983 as *Documenting America: Assessing the Condition of Historical Records in the States*.

The minimum goal of the projects has been to examine four areas of historical records activity in each state:

- state government records,
- local government records,
- historical records repositories (institutions holding archival and manuscript materials which are made available to the public on a regular basis), and
- such functions of statewide importance as conservation services, education and training, archival and records management advisory and assistance services, and program coordination.

One basic expectation of the NHPRC has been that the projects would serve "as a pilot and as a tool toward development of continuing systems for planning, coordination, and cooperation within the States—rather than as a one time exercise. Such continuing systems are among the matters which should be explored in the fourth assessment area, functions and services of statewide importance" (*Guidelines and Goals*, 2).

A second round of grants was awarded by NHPRC to the states—including Indiana—for the calendar year 1984.

## In Perspective

*One basic expectation of the NHPRC has been that the projects would serve "as a pilot and as a tool toward development of continuing systems for planning, coordination, and cooperation within the States—rather than as a one time exercise." Guidelines and Goals.*



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## **The Indiana Assessment Report Project— Phase I**

In 1983 the Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board (IAB) was awarded a grant of \$24,800 to carry out its assessment project; grant application excerpts and planning were featured in the February 1984 *Indiana History Bulletin* which was distributed to over 6,000 Indiana citizens.

Survey instruments were devised for both local government officials and historical records repositories and distributed; the returns were compiled. The results of those surveys were used to produce a first draft of the report; the results have been used to compile the relevant sections that follow in the present report in conjunction with other reports and interviews.

The 1984 IAB/NHPRC government records survey was sent to 600-700 local government office holders. It contained thirty-eight numbered questions on the following topics: administrative practices, public use, equipment and facilities, and needs and services. Responses were compiled from 160 individuals:\* 40 county recorders, 37 county auditors, 31 clerks of the circuit court, 29 city or town clerk treasurers, 18 township trustees, 1 school superintendent, 1 mayor, and 3 undesignated. All questions were not answered on all surveys. Although the survey has provided useful information on a number of topics, other important issues were not included in the survey—for example, confidentiality of records and care of machine-readable information.

The 1984 IAB/NHPRC historical records repository survey was sent to approximately 400 Indiana repositories holding historical records. The survey contained sixty-eight numbered questions on the following topics: organizational information, financial information, staff and staff training, nature of collections, procedures employed in handling records, facilities and equipment, conservation planning and facilities, and needs and services. Responses were compiled from 153 repositories: 23 college/university, 4 business, 7 religious, 42 historical society/museum, and 77 public libraries. All questions were not answered on all surveys.

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## **The Indiana Assessment Report Project— Phase II**

The assessment report project was not completed under the first grant; a second grant of \$5,608 was awarded by the NHPRC to complete publication of the report, and work began February 1, 1987.

Since the surveys and draft report represented only the concerns of record custodians and seemed to have major gaps in coverage, the Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board solicited the advice of a broader audience at a one-day conference on September 10, 1987. With financial help from the Indiana Humanities Council and the NHPRC grant, approximately fifty invited representatives—custodi-

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\*Title 36 of the *Indiana Code* deals with Indiana local government. Title 33 deals with the courts. IC 33-17 defines the office of clerk of the circuit court, which includes many county duties, including service as clerk of a county court (IC 33-10.5-8-2). The survey indicated "county clerk" as a choice, which has been common usage for clerk of the circuit court. Although nineteen responses checked county clerk, all responses are grouped under the legal title, clerk of the circuit court.



ans of records, historians, genealogists, local government officials, media representatives, and three out of state consultants— worked together to review the draft report and provide directions for revision.

The members of the Indiana Board and its Indiana consultants have worked since that time to produce this final report and distribute it to Indiana citizens.

Our three Indiana consultants have provided invaluable assistance in bringing this report to completion. Connie McBirney, Indiana Historical Society, has given much of her own time to compile the results of the surveys and prepare charts. Eric Pumroy, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis, has had primary responsibility for the historical records section. Cam Stewart Weber, Terre Haute, has had primary responsibility for the local government records section. All of these consultants have also carefully reviewed and contributed to the full report.

In addition, the report has benefited from the input of many individuals from the archival and historical community who have read and commented on the report at various times. Deserving particular mention are John J. Newman, Supreme Court of Indiana; C. Ray Ewick, Indiana State Library; and Peter T. Harstad, Indiana Historical Society. Participants in the September 1987 conference are listed in an appendix. The Board expresses a general thank you to all of those who have helped to make this product possible.

A special thank you goes to the NHPRC whose grant funds have made possible this project. The Indiana Humanities Council with the cooperation of the National Endowment for the Humanities provided timely help when needed and has proved a willing partner for future planning.

## Acknowledgments



*The Indiana State Library and Historical Building, built in 1934 and expanded in the 1970s, in 1989 is surrounded by construction for the new state office building. In the library building are housed the collections of the Indiana State Library, the Indiana State Archives (Commission on Public Records), and the Indiana Historical Society. Photograph by Ray Boomhower.*

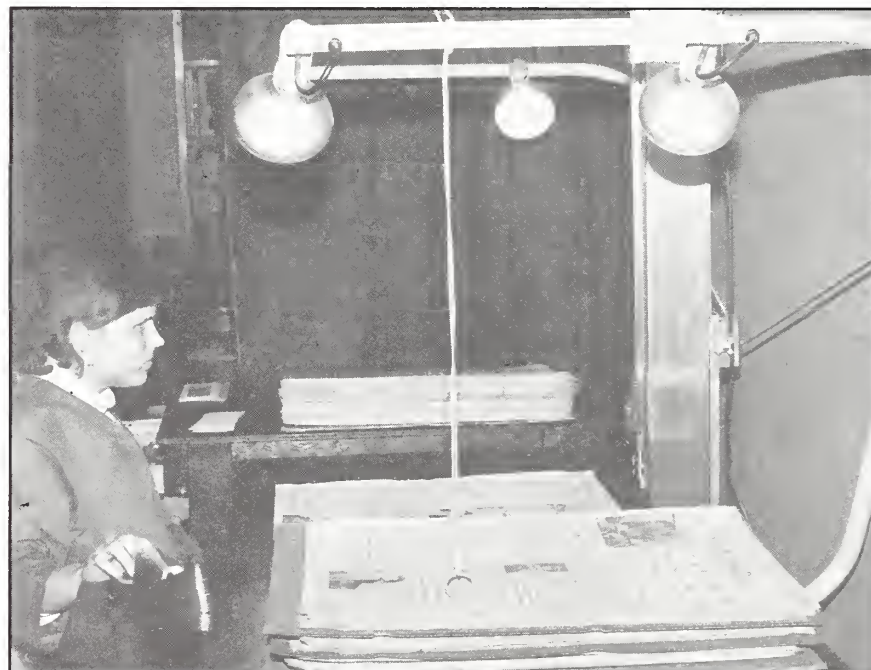


When it is crucial to preserve the information in records but the records themselves can be disposed of for space considerations, microfilming according to stringent standards is an acceptable procedure.



*The Indiana Supreme Court's microfilm project will film approximately 33 million pages of court records at a cost of \$1 million; savings are estimated at \$2 million. Indianapolis Star photograph by Frank H. Fisse.*

A public-private partnership has made possible the filming of millions of pages of Indiana newspapers in order to preserve the information in these valuable and deteriorating resources. The Indiana State Library, the Indiana Historical Society, Indiana University, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and newspaper publishers and repositories throughout the state have joined forces to make this project happen. Photograph by Ray Boomhower.





# **The 1984 IAB/NHPRC Survey—A Summary**

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Five specific but inter-related areas were highlighted as most urgently needing assistance in the survey of local government records holders and historical records repositories: conservation, microfilming programs, better storage facilities, training for records keepers and users, and public awareness of the existence and importance of these records.

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The most common concern voiced in the survey results was for improved preservation of records. Most respondents felt that their repositories were not doing an adequate job of caring for their records. Professional advice on proper treatments and training programs for staff in basic conservation treatments were cited as needs, but outside facilities where work could be accomplished by professional conservators were desired as well.

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## **Preservation and Conservation**

Microfilming of existing records was also cited as a pressing need to reduce the bulk of records stored in local government offices and to facilitate the preservation of the information in these records. An additional benefit of microfilming programs is greater access to information in the records. Repositories can easily share information in microfilm editions. Moreover, local libraries and historical societies could have an edition of the public records and provide user access, releasing local government officials from part of their public reference duties.

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## **Microfilming**

Of major concern to almost everyone was the need for better storage facilities for documents. Many local government agencies reported that lack of space was their major problem and that records were stored anywhere there was available floor space, including the janitor's closet. In addition to the physical space problem, a large majority of the survey respondents noted that archival quality storage materials were not being used for records. Records are being subjected to physical damage from improper storage techniques as well as from poor physical environments.

Better appraisal techniques and definite retention schedules would help reduce some of the bulk of these collections. A comprehensive microfilming program would also help. Many of the local government agencies were unaware of the services provided by the Indiana Commission on Public Records. More workshops and informational brochures concerning the Commission and State Archives would help.

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## **Storage Conditions**

The need for additional training for local records collectors was a common theme in the survey. Local government officials need to be better informed about laws pertaining to local records and how the State Archives can assist them. Information on current retention schedules and records management techniques will assist them

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## **Training**



in their jobs. Basic workshops in conservation techniques will help to assure the preservation of permanent records in both local government archives and local repositories.

## Public Awareness

Public awareness is also vital to the preservation of local records. Potential users of these records need to know which repositories or archives are responsible for the preservation of different types of records. They also need to know how to handle these materials properly. A central clearinghouse for this information would be helpful.

Public awareness is also desirable for monetary reasons. The more aware the public is of the importance of historical records, the more likely state and local governments are to fund preservation efforts.

Archives, manuscript repositories, and libraries preserve materials and information, but they must also make that information accessible. Although the familiar card catalog still dominates at most repositories and libraries, other finding aids, such as the guides compiled at the Indiana State Archives (top), are used in order to make collections accessible to researchers. More and more, however, libraries are becoming automated, with their collections accessible at a computer terminal.

Photographs by Ray Boomhower.





# Recommendations of the Indiana Historical Records Assessment and Reporting Project

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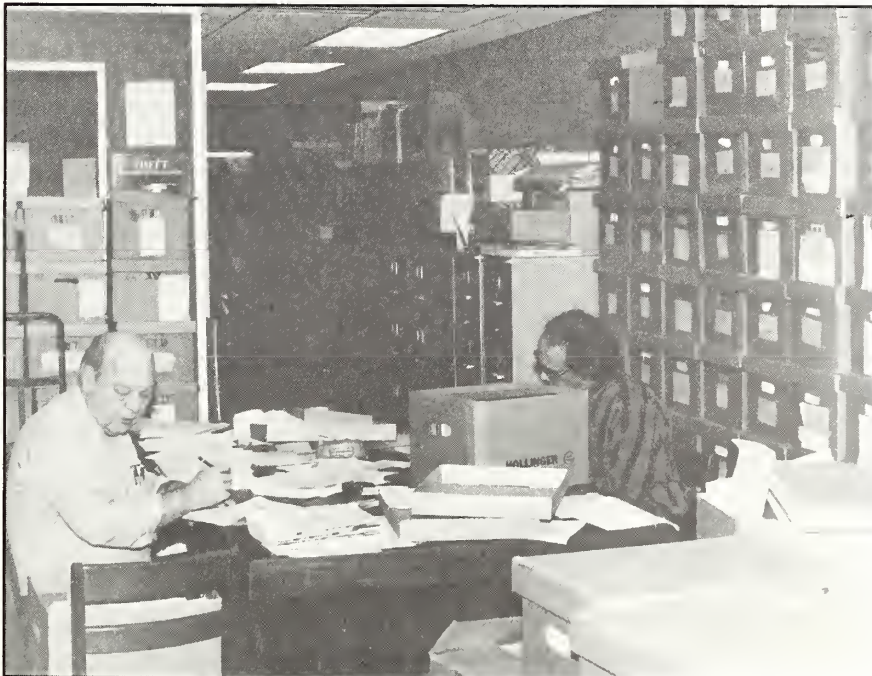
## State Government Records

**SG 1.** The governor should appoint a blue-ribbon committee representing both the public sector and the private sector and including liaison with the Indiana General Assembly to examine in detail Indiana's state government records program and make recommendations for action including possible legislation. The recommendations that follow establish a beginning agenda for that blue-ribbon committee.

**SG 2.** A review is urgently needed of existing and planned electronic information generating systems in all state government agencies in order to provide the electronic counterpart to the paper trail which documents the functions of those agencies in the State Archives. The National Archives, for example, has developed policies for automated data processing which can be regarded as a model for public agencies.

**SG 3.** The staffing of the Commission on Public Records needs to be assessed and increased in order to carry out the legislative mandates of the agency.

**SG 4.** Expand the staff and capability of the Commission on Public Records Conservation Laboratory in order to fulfill the mandate for a statewide program that can begin to serve state and local government and the broader archival community in Indiana.



*The papers of the Governor Robert D. Orr administration had to be transferred to the reading room of the Indiana State Archives because stack areas are full. Archives staff carried out preliminary processing there, in an area normally available to the public. Photograph by Ray Boomhower.*



**SG 5.** Expand the available appropriate space for both the State Archives and the State Records Center.

**SG 6.** The State Records Center and the Archives must automate as quickly as possible for cost savings and improved access to holdings. Staff and consultants should examine existing systems and needs to determine the best solution for in-house needs and for integration with national, regional, and statewide networks.

**SG 7.** Strengthen the composition and role of the Oversight Committee on Public Records so that it has the capability to function as a true policy making body for the agency.

**SG 8.** Publish a guide to the holdings of the State Archives that will give Indiana citizens, government, and scholars access to its rich resources until such time as statewide data networks provide broad on-line access capability for planning, appraisal, and research purposes.

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## **Local Government Records**

**LG1.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board (IAB) should assume a leadership role in pursuing the recommendations of this report, enlisting the support of individuals and organizations including the Society of Indiana Archivists, Association of Indiana Counties, Association of Cities and Towns, associations of local government officials, Indiana Library Association, County Historians, the Indiana State Bar Association, members of the historical, genealogical, preservation and academic communities. One major facet of that leadership role should be assisting in the education of the general public to enlist support for archival and records management concerns. Another major facet should be establishment of lines of communication with relevant groups to monitor progress toward stated goals and to keep needed information flowing.

**LG 2.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should work with the state administration, members of the General Assembly, and interested organizations to assure that IC 5-15-6, the Local Public Records Commissions law, is studied and amended to provide Indiana with a modern and comprehensive records management program for local government records. Elements of that law should address the following problems:

- The role of the Commission on Public Records must be clearly delineated, and staff and funding to carry out that role must be provided;
- There must be a recognition of and provision for modern records practices and concerns, such as a current comprehensive definition of public records, means to dispose of the records as necessary, comprehensive retention and disposition schedules, authorization for the use of replevin, guidelines for public access to data bases and records including those of a sensitive nature, authorization for the use of machine readable records and photocopies, standards for micrographics, and penalties for violation of the law.



- The effectiveness of the system of county records commissions should be studied, with attention to a possible regional or statewide mechanism for the disposition of local government records.

**LG 3.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board and interested organizations should cooperate with the Commission on Public Records to improve the education of local government officials regarding records management. Among the tools and methods should be guidelines for improved public access to records, promotion of the use of microfilming, a records manual for local government officials, videos on the basics of records management for officials, encouragement of local historical societies and libraries to sponsor records workshops, and more training programs with the State Board of Accounts, the Indiana Supreme Court, and at association meetings.

**LG 4.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should work with the Commission on Public Records and other appropriate agencies and organizations to study alternative storage systems for local government records and recommend a solution for Indiana. The study should examine alternatives to the present system including public local records centers and a regional repository system for Indiana. Programs of this kind in other states, such as Minnesota, Ohio, and Illinois, should be studied. Costs and potential funding sources should also be examined.

**LG 5.** The Commission on Public Records should move rapidly to make available guidelines and standards for machine readable records. The guidelines must address public access to information in machine readable format, as well as technical standards for the preservation of machine readable information.



*The attic of the LaGrange County Courthouse serves as storage space for records. Photograph courtesy John J. Newman.*



**LG 6.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board, the Commission on Public Records, and related organizations should study conservation needs on the local level and provide a set of recommendations to be pursued by designated parties. The study should include an assessment of current and future needs as well as possible solutions. Basic conservation concerns should be highlighted, as well as strategies for the creation of vital records programs and disaster plans for county and local government records.

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## Historical Records

**HR 1.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board (IAB) should work with the state's historical records repositories to carry out a cooperative collection analysis to determine which subjects, regions, and time periods of Indiana history are well-documented and which are not.

The results of the analysis should then be used by the IAB and the repositories as a basis for re-evaluating collection policies, encouraging new or expanded repositories where needed, and determining priorities for collecting projects.

As part of this total process, the IAB should encourage the Indiana State Library and the Indiana Historical Society to examine their programs and priorities jointly to determine how they can best use their resources to help preserve the state's historical records.

**HR 2.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should sponsor a workshop for historians, archivists, librarians, social scientists, and public policymakers to examine the topic "Documenting Indiana." Conference participants should address such issues as the state of historical scholarship on modern Indiana, strengths and weaknesses in the documentary record currently preserved by repositories, the nature of modern records and methods for collecting and preserving them, and the importance of historical records for the operations of government and business and for enhancing the cultural life of the state.

As a result of the conference, planning groups should be formed to work with the IAB to identify activities in the state for which records need to be preserved and to determine appropriate resources for collecting and preserving those records.

**HR 3.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should promote the improvement of existing repositories and the establishment of new repositories in order to enhance the collection and preservation of Indiana's historical records. Start-up grants for new archives, such as the one used successfully in establishing the university archives at Indiana State University, should be a priority of the IAB.

Regional campuses of the state's public universities and major public libraries should be encouraged to establish or expand archival programs focusing on the heritage of their region. Indiana University Northwest's Calumet Regional Archives can serve as a model for programs in other regions.

The IAB, collaborating with local chapters of the American Records Managers Association (ARMA) and such groups as cham-





*The reading room,  
Cunningham  
Memorial Library,  
Indiana State  
University, Terre  
Haute. Photograph  
courtesy  
J. Thomas Brown,  
Cunningham  
Memorial Library.*

bers of commerce, should encourage businesses to establish archival programs to preserve their part in the state's history.

**HR 4.** As a means of building research collections in regions or subject areas where existing documentation is limited, the Indiana Advisory Board should encourage and support cooperative institutional collecting projects.

The most recent example of a successful inter-institutional collecting project is the Black Women in the Middle West Project, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, which resulted in the acquisition of important black history collections by the Indiana Historical Society, the Calumet Regional Archives, and other repositories in the state.

**HR 5.** The archival, library, and historical communities should work to educate their legislators and seek improved public funding for the Indiana State Library so that the Library can resume an active role in collecting historical records and have the means to care properly for the records in its possession.

**HR 6.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should cooperate with the Society of Indiana Archivists in completing and distributing a directory of Indiana repositories containing descriptions of each repository's major holdings.

**HR 7.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should work with the state's major repositories to begin planning for a statewide guide to archival collections in the state. Ideally, the guide would include descriptions of all individual manuscript collections in Indiana repositories and begin the foundation for a statewide database. The IAB should investigate similar successful projects in Kentucky and Washington as models for an Indiana project.



**HR 8.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should solicit and support grant applications for projects that will arrange and describe collections of historically significant Indiana records not currently accessible.

The IAB should also support projects that will result in published guides to repository holdings. So that information about newly described collections is made widely available, the IAB should require that all such projects report collection descriptions to the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections (NUCMC).

**HR 9.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should work with representatives of the leading archival repositories in the state to form an advisory group to examine the issues involved in adopting the MARC AMC (Machine Readable Catalog, Archives and Manuscripts Control) format; to agree on standard methods of using the format, to monitor library network developments, and to plan for the inclusion of archival descriptions in national databases.

The advisory group and the IAB should also develop a plan to convert existing descriptions of archival collections to the MARC AMC format, perhaps through a cooperative project of the state's major repositories.

**HR 10.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should work with the archival community in Indiana to develop better relations with the library community, with particular attention to the Indiana Library and Information Services Network component of *INDIANA Long-Range Plan For Library Services And Development*, in order to stay current with developments in library automation and networks, and to ensure that archival considerations are taken into account when networks are being planned.

**HR 11.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should help to enhance the role of the Indiana Division, Indiana State Library as a centralized location for finding aids to Indiana historical records collections to supplement on-line data access to collections.

**HR 12.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should encourage professional archivists in the state to provide frequent opportunities for local historical society volunteers and library staff members to learn appropriate methods of handling historical records.

Training sessions should also provide opportunities for participants to meet local professional archivists to whom they can turn for advice. These sessions should be scheduled so that people in each region of the state who work with historical records can get to know each other and become accustomed to working together on solutions to common problems.

**HR 13.** Small repositories, such as local historical societies and public libraries, should be encouraged to examine existing archival resources and devise collaborative solutions for the preservation of local history collections.

The Indiana Advisory Board should encourage such collaborative efforts through small start-up grants.



## Statewide Functions and Services

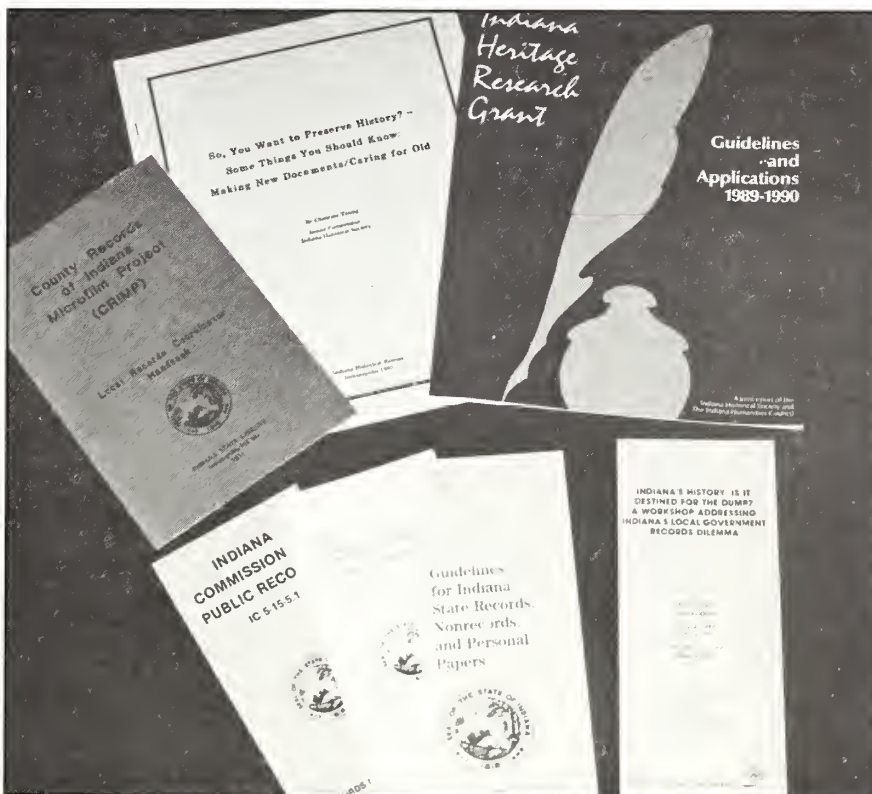
**SF 1.** The Governor should expand the Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board to bring together a better representation of the broadest archival community—including libraries, local officials, user groups, and professional service organizations—in order to establish a forum for communication, planning, and action.

**SF 2.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should revise its State Plan to reflect current needs and priorities and implement evaluation and revision on a regular basis to address changing situations in the state as progress is made.

**SF 3.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should join with the existing coalition of archival, library, and historical representatives to address the broad needs for preservation and conservation in Indiana.

**SF 4.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should work with related groups to establish task forces to address the recommendations of this report.

**SF 5.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should seek partners to establish a grant program to address the archival needs of Indiana repositories. The program should take advantage of NHPRC and other federal funding opportunities, state monies, and private funding.



As the publications shown illustrate, there are resources available in Indiana to help (clockwise from top left): the County Records of Indiana Microfilm Project (CRIMP), a conservation guide for general use, grants, workshops on local government records, and resources about the Commission on Public Records. Photograph by Ray Boomhower.

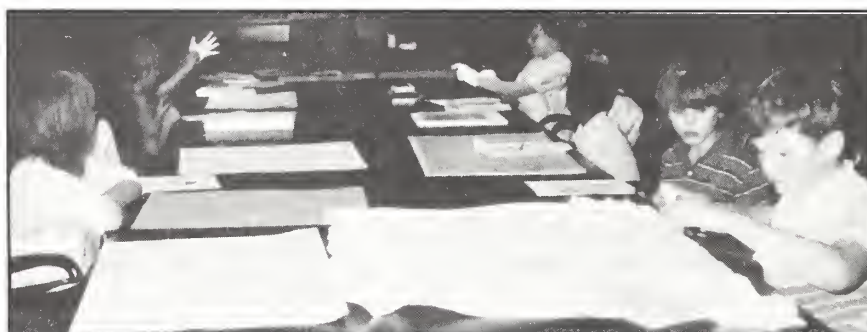


*The users of archives and manuscripts repositories cover a broad spectrum of interests.*

*When Dan Quayle ran for vice president, news media converged on the State Archives (top) as well as other repositories around the state seeking details about his life. Photograph by Paul Wilson.*



*Fourth grade students as part of the BROAD-SIDES program were fascinated handling with white gloves the documents that they had studied in class as reproductions. Photograph courtesy Indiana Historical Bureau.*



*Throughout the state attorneys, historians, genealogists, media persons, etc. work in the 92 county courthouses for business and pleasure: Ohio County Courthouse (left) and Decatur County Courthouse. Photographs courtesy John J. Newman.*





# The Status of State Government Records

A privately sponsored and privately funded report issued in 1985 begins its executive summary with the sentence "The United States is in danger of losing its memory." It continues with the warnings that "Our governments— federal, state, and local— already have lost control of paper records"; electronic recordkeeping is becoming more prevalent, but there are "no provisions for identifying and preserving records of historical value"; and regardless of the fact that we are in an information age, "historical documentation is becoming progressively thinner." This report is designed "to speak to governments at all levels on behalf of Americans at large" and asks the federal government to provide a positive example for other government entities.

This Committee on the Records of Government *Report* is extremely useful for the Indiana assessment because it succinctly lays out some assumptions and some standards that can be used and referred to in setting the Indiana study in context. At the outset, the report summarizes why citizens and government officials should be concerned about the welfare of government records at all levels; government records

- "Document the history and intent of public policy. . . ."
- "Assure accountability to legislatures as well as the public through documentation of government programs. . . ."
- "Retain basic data necessary for research on scientific, medical, and economic problems. . . ."
- "Assure the effective administration of ongoing public programs . . . . Records document the delivery of governmental services, show legal responsibility, and support the rights both of individuals and governments."
- "Assure effective administration within government agencies. . . ."
- "Form the basis of a national history and an understanding of American government. Local, state, and federal archives also contribute to a sense of community, a national consciousness, and understanding of our society and culture. Without records, there is no history. . . ."

It is temptingly easy to put aside concerns for inanimate records when they are in competition for dollars with the many other needs of citizens. It can be proved, however, that well-run state and local government records programs ultimately save money as well as protect citizens and their governments. Unfortunately, the review and evaluation of the first twenty state assessment grants in this NHPRC program— *Documenting America: Assessing the Condition of Historical Records in the States* (1983)— emphatically asserts, "American state records agencies are in an impoverished condition and are currently unable to provide adequate care for their records" (p. 1).

The section in *Documenting America* on state records programs cites legal inadequacies and a cycle of poverty as the major findings in the twenty reports. The report closes with a section of recommendations regarding state records programs; that section opens with the following comment:

## In Perspective

"... Like other important resources of state government, our records need to be **managed** to ensure efficiency, economy, and overall good government" State Government Records and the Public Interest.



The image of state records administrators that emerges from these reports is of a small, haggard band of defenders surrounded by forces that threaten to overwhelm them and desperately struggling just to survive. A few states used the assessment projects as opportunities to go on the offensive and break out of their trap. For others, however, the report merely provided another opportunity to call for help.

The state records program in Indiana needs help even though it begins with a positive legislated basis that few programs throughout the country have. The archival community, state government in general, the administrators of the Indiana Commission on Public Records, and the Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board must work together to see that Indiana is one of the states that can take the offensive and make its state records program in reality a protector, as well as a servant, of the government and the people that it serves.

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## The Indiana Background

Although the 1851 Indiana Constitution clearly calls for "The Governor, and the Secretary, Auditor, and Treasurer of State, . . . [to] keep the public records, books, and papers, in any manner relating to their respective offices" (Article 6, section 5), there was no agency formally designated as a repository for the public records of Indiana until the early twentieth century. Since 1825 the Indiana State Library had been collecting historical resources, but not until 1903 did its board establish a Department of Archives and History. In 1913 the Department of Indiana History and Archives was charged by the General Assembly (Chapter 116), among other things, with the care and custody of public records. When the State Library moved into its new building in 1934, the Archives was given separate space. In 1936 the Archives was made a separate division of the State Library responsible for official public records; historical records of the state continued to be collected and maintained in the newly named Indiana Division. The 1935 Commission on Public Records Act (Chapter 219) provided the legal basis for deposit of the state's permanent records in the Archives Division. The 1939 County Commission Act (Chapter 91) as amended in 1955 and 1963 gave the State Archives limited involvement with local government records. A photographic laboratory was authorized in the State Library in 1947 (Chapter 172) and provided the base for an active microfilm operation.

*"Public records aren't just paper. Today, audio tapes, microfilm, optical discs, photographs, computer output microfilm (COM), computer tapes and discs are all public records, and must be managed. Use Your Local Records Program (Kentucky).*

In 1969 F. Gerald Ham, State Archivist of Wisconsin, prepared a study of historical-archival programs in Indiana which was published in 1970 as Report Number 18 of the *Indiana Library Studies*, a federally funded research project. Ham said then, "The archival program is underdeveloped in every phase of its activity" (p. 29). He called for more study, but recommended better legislation regarding public records, a local records program, better education about services of the State Archives, and improvement of all facets of the archival operation and services. One problem situation specifically cited was conflicting authority with the Department of Administration regarding disposition of public records.

In 1970 the Indiana State Commission on Public Records, legislated in 1935, issued a *Guide for Preservation and Destruction of Public Records* that gathered in one place the legislation and



procedures regarding public records for public officials at the state and local levels. This Commission by law (IC 5-15-5) consisted of the governor, secretary of state, state examiner of the state board of accounts, the directors of the State Library (secretary) and the Historical Bureau, the state archivist, and the superintendant of the records center. The Commission met quarterly to review and approve requests for the disposition of state records.

Not until 1979, however, was anything significant accomplished in the legislation for Indiana's state records program. At that time the General Assembly passed Public Law 40 which created a new state agency called the Commission on Public Records—merging the archives and photography laboratory from the Indiana State Library, the records center, forms management, and microfilming functions of the Department of Administration, and the records management functions of the old Commission on Public Records, which was repealed. With a few subsequent amendments and changes of authority this comprehensive legislation, Indiana Code 5-15-5.1, governs an agency that has authority over Indiana public records under most of the executive branch of state government from creation to disposition. The Commission also serves an advisory role to the offices of other elected officials, the judicial branch, the legislative branch, and the state universities.

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On July 14, 1986 the Records Management Section of the Supreme Court of Indiana was formed to provide archival and records management services to the state's judiciary. Emphasis is on the 364 trial courts with 372 judges in the 92 counties of Indiana. Special services of the section include advice on microfilming needs and conservation of deteriorating records.

Previously the state archivist had worked with the courts in the production of retention schedules and microfilming standards. The Supreme Court is now implementing Administrative Rule 7 which contains over 200 retention schedules that provide for the orderly disposal of non-essential court records and the preservation of series of enduring value. Also, the court in 1986 issued—in Administrative Rule 6—standards for microforms that allow microform copies to be used as evidence in a court.

The Clerk of the Supreme and Appellate Courts recently has undertaken a massive microfilming program of an estimated 33 million pages of court documents. The stringent requirements for filming have necessitated bringing the project directly under the supervision of the clerk's office, rather than at a commercial establishment, but the estimated \$1 million price tag should bring an estimated \$2 million in savings.

The courts have an ideal situation for records management in that the Supreme Court can mandate rules and can generally expect that the funds will be available for staff and other resources to implement those rules. This is a success story for one aspect of the government records situation at the state and local levels. The court program stands as an example of what can happen when there is a commitment to address the needs of records/archives management. It should certainly be considered for aid in solving the needs of the rest of the state records program.

## **The Indiana Supreme Court**



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## The Indiana Commission on Public Records

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The major focus in this assessment report, however, must be on the Indiana Commission on Public Records as mandated in IC 5-15-5.1 and its role in implementing the information management program of the state of Indiana.

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### Overview of Legislation

The Indiana Commission on Public Records was established in 1979 as an information auditing agency to implement and administer the information management program for the "administrative and executive branches of state government" (IC 5-15-5.1-3). The broad duties and powers of the agency are reflected in the organizational structure of six divisions: forms management, records management, micrographics, conservation, records center, and archives.

In addition, the law provides for replevin—the recovery of original state or local government records (IC 5-15-5.1-5a14) and calls for the establishment of "standards to ensure the preservation of adequate and permanent computerized and auxiliary automated information records of the agencies of state government" in coordination with the Data Processing Oversight Commission (IC 5-15-5.1-5a16). Finally, the Commission is directed to "establish and maintain a critical records program for the state of Indiana" (IC 5-15-5.1-12).

The law establishes the Oversight Committee on Public Records to "function as the policy-making body for the commission" and carry out specified records management and privacy-related functions (IC 5-15-5.1-18, 19, 20). The nine member committee by law (IC 5-15-5.1-18b) has two lay members, one of whom must "be a professional journalist or be a member of an association related to journalism," appointed by the governor. The other seven members of the committee are elected or appointed officials of state government or their designees: governor, secretary of state, state examiner of the State Board of Accounts, director of the State Library, director of the Historical Bureau, director of the Commission on Public Records, and commissioner of the Department of Administration. The Oversight Committee has the authority to promulgate rules and has used that authority in Title 60 of the *Indiana Administrative Code* to establish rules regarding collection of religious information on individuals (60 IAC 1.1-1-2), disclosure of lists of names and addresses for solicitation purposes (60 IAC 1.1-1-3), and microfilming standards (60 IAC 2).

The program is to function through designated information coordinators within each agency whose responsibilities are specified (IC 5-15-5.1-10). When the Indiana program as legislated is compared to the "Elements of a Comprehensive Government Records Program" (Appendix 2) prepared as a part of the 1985 Committee on the Records of Government *Report*, it measures up well in its coverage of the basic elements, with responsibility throughout the life cycle of information generation and disposition.

*"The successful management of government records is a partnership . . . between the creators of records, the agencies that maintain them, and the people responsible for the state's records management and archival administration program."*  
State Government Records and the Public Interest.



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This section describes the six divisions of the Commission on Public Records as they reflect the life cycle of information generation and disposition, which is an important feature of the Indiana legislation.

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## **Program Implementation**

The Commission has organized its information management program based upon the theory that many, if not most, records management issues can be resolved at the time of a document's creation. The overall program, therefore, has been built around its forms management program.

### **Forms Management Division**

This division, begun under the Department of Administration, conducted an initial survey, collected over 300,000 forms, and identified 68,354 individual forms used in state government. The Commission estimates that the program has reduced the number of forms in state government to just over 37,000. The division program standardizes specifications, purchasing/reproduction procedures, usage and format of all state forms, and operates a centralized forms numbering and cross-index filing system.

The division, located in the State Office Building, has two functional sections—forms control and forms development—to fulfill the numbering, recordkeeping, research, specifications-writing, and approval functions of the legislated program (IC 5-15-5.1-5a1,2,3,4,15, b; 5-15-5.1-6). The forms program has little automation; the Commission indicates that it long ago outgrew existing equipment and needs personal computers to increase the efficiency of this division.

The Commission hopes to infuse records retention data into the content of forms to enable state agency information coordinators to approach information management as a unified program.

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The function of the Records Management Division, located in the Indiana State Library and Historical Building, is to maintain a statewide program to establish standards and procedures for recordmaking and recordkeeping, and "prepare, develop, and implement record retention schedules" for state agencies (IC 5-15-5.1-5a5,12). Based on Commission statistics, reasonable progress has been made to improve paperwork. Approximately half of the estimated 40,000 record series in state agencies have been scheduled. Most of the work is done by Commission staff—from preparation of administrative histories for agencies for developing retention scheduling strategies to preparation of actual retention schedules for approval by the Oversight Committee—some assistance is provided by the agency information coordinators called for by statute (IC 5-15-5.1-10).

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### **Records Management Division**

The micrographics program fulfills the Commission mandate to "Coordinate utilization of all micrographics equipment in state government" and to "Advise the department of administration with respect to the purchase of all records storage equipment" (IC 5-15-5.1-5a6,8). In addition, the statute (IC 5-15-5.1-8) calls for the

### **Micrographics Division**



Commission to "operate a central micrographics laboratory" and provides for the Oversight Committee to promulgate microfilming standards for state agencies in the administrative and executive branches in coordination with standards of the Supreme Court. The micrographics laboratory, located in the Indiana State Library and Historical Building, is shared with the private Indiana Historical Society and the Indiana State Library.

The ability to microfilm records has been available to state and local governments since 1947 (IC 5-15-1-1), but the 1979 legislation creating the Commission added a new provision to the existing 1947 statute requiring that "All micrographics done under this chapter shall comply with the quality standards developed under IC 5-15-5.1-8." The existing legislation already stipulated that the "final decision as to the destruction or other disposition of such records [that have been filmed] shall rest with the commission on public records as to state records . . . ."

There are many large agencies with individual microfilming programs which existed before 1979, and the Commission sees this as problematical since records filmed may not always be on retention schedules, and quality control can be difficult. According to the Commission, however, most state agencies do use the services of the Commission microfilm department, and all agencies use the Commission processing lab, even if agencies do their own filming. No charge is levied by the Commission for micrographics services.

An administrative rule (60 IAC 2) was promulgated by the Oversight Committee in 1987 specifying microfilming standards. The purpose of the microfilming standards is to create minimum legal, legibility, and, where required, permanency standards for microforms generated by agencies under the Commission's authority as listed in IC 5-15-5.1-2. These microfilming standards parallel the microfilming standards approved by the Indiana Supreme Court as its Administrative Rule 6. The application of the Commission standards has been problematical for state agencies, and the Commission is in the process of revising and refining the standards because of state purchasing complications encountered in 1988. Compliance problems also have arisen because agencies lack sufficient knowledge about microfilming requirements, especially in the matters of preparation and verification. The Commission indicates that a manual is being prepared, and assistance is available from the Commission upon request.

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### **Conservation Laboratory**

The conservation laboratory that fulfills the mandate (IC 5-15-5.1-5a11) to "Establish and operate a statewide record preservation laboratory" is a shared facility with the private Indiana Historical Society and the Indiana State Library located in the Indiana State Library and Historical Building. The facility, which was originally part of the State Library, is equipped to clean, restore, and preserve documents using deacidification, encapsulation, and other basic techniques. Items needing repair are identified at the time of processing. The laboratory has inadequate work space and equipment to do more than basic operations.



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The Indiana State Records Center, located at 601 Kentucky Avenue, Indianapolis, is a temporary storage facility for semi-active and inactive state government records which fulfills the mandate (IC 5-15-5.1-5a13) to establish and operate a central records center. The program was originally part of the Department of Administration, and the facility is an abandoned paint factory—a four story structure in which the top two floors are equipped with shelving for records storage.

### **Indiana State Records Center**

Currently, the Records Center has shelving space for 49,933 cubic feet of records; there are 51,446 cubic feet of records now stored there, and records retention schedules are now approved on a space available basis. The Records Center provides reference service when needed and carries out destruction procedures according to retention and disposition schedules approved by the Oversight Committee. Reference requests have increased from 1,000 in 1980 to 27,000 in 1987; but reference service is hampered by overcrowding with many records stored on skids rather than on shelving. Records to refile, incoming records, and records destruction activity have also increased substantially. The Commission reports no automation at the State Records Center.

The facility has other problems related to age—structural difficulties, elevator breakdowns, and lack of environmental control. Moreover, a large amount of flammable liquid used by the paint factory still remains underground at the site. Barrels of toxic waste have only recently been removed, and residue remains.

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The Archives Division, located in the Indiana State Library and Historical Building, fulfills the mandate (IC 5-15-5.1-5a10) to “Establish and operate a statewide archival program . . . for the permanent government records of the state, provide consultant services for archival programs, conduct surveys, and provide training for records coordinators.” The division provides access for public use under IC 5-15-5.1-7.

### **Indiana State Archives**

The State Archives now stores approximately 25,000 cubic feet of records and also faces physical problems. The Archives still houses many non-permanent records that are being removed upon reappraisal, but there is no space remaining for records acquisition on the shelves; 1500 cubic feet are stored in the aisles. Recently transferred papers of the Orr administration were stored in the Archives Reading Room leaving minimal space for researchers or for processing. As the records management program has successfully functioned since 1979, the appropriate and valuable records coming to the Archives have increased dramatically. For example, a general retention schedule for minutes of government agencies brought the transfer of minutes from over seventy-five agencies, including the minutes of the first women's prison in the United States.

All applicable agency records are now transferred to the State Archives under the authority of retention schedules approved by the Oversight Committee. The Commission indicates that Indiana's archival records guide is being updated and will greatly assist in continuing evaluation and transfer of appropriate records to the State Archives.



Governors' papers and other state records of archival value have usually been transferred voluntarily by officials or are designated by statute for accession by the Archives. In October 1988 the Commission began providing a flyer entitled "Guidelines for Indiana State Records, Nonrecords and Personal Papers" to every elected official and agency head as an educational effort to safeguard governmental records.

Although the State Archives contains the permanent records of state government and many local government records, access to them is limited. Staff are addressing those needs in a number of ways. Five years ago the Archives began implementing its Automated Archives Inventory System (AAIS) to convert data about its holdings to a machine-readable format, but the automation for the system has not yet been funded. The inventory forms being prepared manually include data about the record, its acquisition, its processing status, its physical condition, confidentiality concerns, and suggested potential research fields. When entered on computer a detailed retrieval system will eventually evolve from this database management system. Estimates are that 75,000 to 90,000 record descriptions will be entered; approximately 35,000 have been placed manually on entry sheets to date. The AAIS process has already paid dividends, however, in identifying non-permanent records that could then be disposed of, freeing much needed space for storage of appropriate archival records.

Only approximately 10 percent of the state's archival holdings now have finding aids, but the Archives has pursued various methods to make the public more aware of its extensive and valuable holdings. Administrative histories have been written for over 200 of the approximately 485 agencies of state government that have existed over the years. Starting in 1982 the Archives published collection descriptions in the *Indiana History Bulletin* of the Indiana Historical Bureau and the newsletter of the Society of Indiana Archivists. For little used records which have high research value—such as Civil War regimental correspondence and Secretary of State files—the Archives has an on-going process of producing detailed inventories when staff is available to work on them.

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### **The Record of Service**

The Commission generates monthly reports with data from all of its divisions for the Oversight Committee. Exhibit 1 (p. 33) presents annual totals from July 1982 to June 1988 from those reports.

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### **Areas Not Yet Addressed**

To date the Commission has not addressed two areas of responsibility with any success: the automated information standards and the critical records program. Although there has been some contact with the Data Processing Oversight Committee, the agencies have not managed to work together toward any solutions to the growing problem of standards for increasing automation of information in state government.

A draft of a critical records program for Indiana was produced by the Archives Division several years ago, but nothing meaningful has been done to adopt and implement it.



# Exhibit 1. Commission Activity Reports, Annual Figures, July 1982 - June 1988

Division/Section	Activity	7/82-6/83	7/83-6/84	7/84-6/85	7/85-6/86	7/86-6/87	7/87-6/88
Forms Management	Form reproduction requests (requisitions) processed	6,260	7,344	5,460	6,635	8,952	6,258
	New state forms created	1,114	1,446	974	1,268	972	1,052
	State forms eliminated	2,777	1,005	271	655	243	576
	State forms designed or revised	389	270	293	315	324	519
Forms Design and Analysis	Design/composition of publications, brochures, etc.	129	62	26	26	57	16
	Images microfilmed	2,587,080	991,646	993,889	1,673,353	1,444,442	18,662,415
	Rolls of microfilm processed	4,654	4,580	7,436	7,727	6,650	6,565
	Numbers of jackets loaded (inserts)	79,705	43,883	47,083	69,072	51,739	41,786
Micrographics	Questions concerning privacy	176	180	73	25	5	6
	Records series approved	1,243	1,089	823	593	995	211
	Records received (cubic feet)	8,621	8,098	10,879	14,233	12,451	13,299
	Records destroyed (cubic feet)	7,944	2,842	10,783	20,524	13,132	13,396
Privacy and Records Analysis	Reference requests	19,149	17,453	25,477	45,075	112,799	56,182
	Guide entries published	11	39	8	18	0	0
	Patrons served (walk-in, telephone, etc.)	9,002	7,187	6,300	5,247	5,635	27,123
	Records accessioned (cubic feet)	1,413	5,743	3,562	821	397	803
Records Center	Records processed (cubic feet)	0	0	363	1,976	995	529
	Finding aids prepared (cubic feet)	245	6	261	3	10	6
	Items processed	9,822	8,123	5,603	3,789	1,807	3,448
State Archives							



In addition, there has been no real work with or training of agency information coordinators, and that linkage is very weak.

Another weak aspect that must be cited is the functioning of the Oversight Committee, which is able to do little more than approve retention schedules. Its function as a policy making body for the Commission has been limited to exercising its rule making authority, and it has been unable to help the Commission gain resources or stature within state government. The members, for the most part functioning in elected offices or other state departments, are not in a position to do more than perform the minimum necessary tasks, unless the governor or his representative takes the lead. The Oversight Committee has also been hampered at times because the office of the Attorney General is not represented on that body to advise on the legal aspects of actions regarding records.

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## **An Overview of Needs**

As the program of the Commission has been discussed, there have been references to equipment needs and space needs. The Commission has in past budget requests to the General Assembly presented building plans and equipment requests that have had little success. Perhaps the most desperate need, however, is in the area of personnel. The accompanying organization chart (Exhibit 2, p. 35) from the Commission's budget request indicates authorized staffing and staff requested in the 1989-1991 biennium budget (dotted lines). The chart unfortunately does not indicate long and damaging vacancies in some positions and does not present a good idea of job responsibilities.

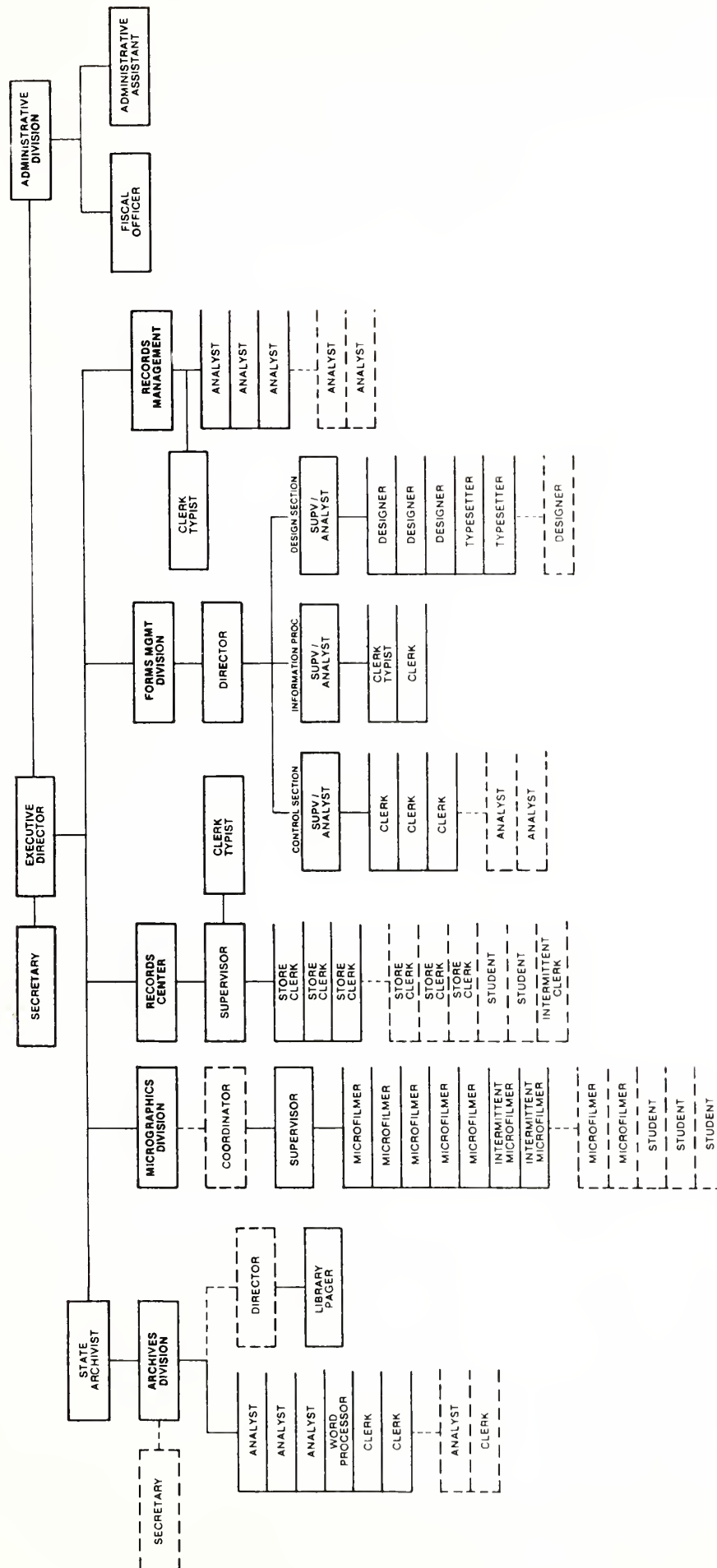
Clearly, however, there are too few people—both professionals and clericals—to carry out the extensive and labor intensive tasks in Records Management, the Records Center, and the Archives. There are many legitimate reasons for staffing problems having to do with budget cuts, hiring freezes, and organizational priorities. There are also basic problems with the personnel system of state government, which has generally lower wage scales than for comparable positions in the private sector, and with the requirements of the state merit system, which has difficulty with professional classifications that require very special skills and training.

The conservator position in the Conservation Laboratory, for example, was recovered after a hiring freeze, but it has remained vacant because of the salary level for the specialized qualifications; there has not been a state funded professional conservator for 11 years in this "statewide" preservation laboratory. The present biennium request, because the position has remained vacant, once again had to justify the need and request reinstatement of the position in order to try and fill it. The conservation program is presently staffed with one extremely competent and well-trained technician who has the lowest level clerical classification (Library Page VI). The director of the Commission has been unsuccessful in attempts to get both positions upgraded.

A similar situation has affected the ability of the State Archives to function adequately as a statewide archival program. Salaries for archives professionals in Indiana state service range at least \$3,000 to \$5,000 below salaries throughout Indiana and the Midwest for comparable positions. It is difficult at times to get applicants for



**Exhibit 2. Organization, Indiana Commission on Public Records**  
*(From the ICPR 1989-1991 budget request, August 1988)*





open positions, and experienced archivists cannot afford to come here. In recent years, Indiana state government has served as a training ground for beginning archivists and records managers for the private sector and other agencies to the detriment of the state's ability to manage its own records; after enough tenure at the Commission to attain a high level of expertise, talented employees regularly leave for more lucrative jobs elsewhere.

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## **Recommendations for State Government Records**

**SG 1.** The governor should appoint a blue-ribbon committee representing both the public sector and the private sector and including liaison with the Indiana General Assembly to examine in detail Indiana's state government records program and make recommendations for action including possible legislation. The recommendations that follow establish a beginning agenda for that blue-ribbon committee.

**SG 2.** A review is urgently needed of existing and planned electronic information generating systems in all state government agencies in order to provide the electronic counterpart to the paper trail which documents the functions of those agencies in the State Archives. The National Archives, for example, has developed policies for automated data processing which can be regarded as a model for public agencies.

**SG 3.** The staffing of the Commission on Public Records needs to be assessed and increased in order to carry out the legislative mandates of the agency.

**SG 4.** Expand the staff and capability of the Commission on Public Records Conservation Laboratory in order to fulfill the mandate for a statewide program that can begin to serve state and local government and the broader archival community in Indiana.

**SG 5.** Expand the available appropriate space for both the State Archives and the State Records Center.

**SG 6.** The State Records Center and the Archives must automate as quickly as possible for cost savings and improved access to holdings. Staff and consultants should examine existing systems and needs to determine the best solution for in-house needs and for integration with national, regional, and statewide networks.

**SG 7.** Strengthen the composition and role of the Oversight Committee on Public Records so that it has the capability to function as a true policy making body for the agency.

**SG 8.** Publish a guide to the holdings of the State Archives that will give Indiana citizens, government, and scholars access to its rich resources until such time as statewide data networks provide broad on-line access capability for planning, appraisal, and research purposes.



# The Status of Indiana's Local Government Records

## In Perspective

What are local government records, and why are they important? Paper documents created by governmental subdivisions within the state, such as counties, townships, and cities, in the course of their daily business, comprise the bulk of local government records. They may be tax rolls, health records, property deeds, birth certificates, school transcripts, vouchers, or other such documents familiar to most ordinary citizens. These documents are public records, created with public monies, for the purpose of serving the public. Even more than documents created by American governments at the state or federal levels, local government records protect the most fundamental rights of citizens, touching all facets of their lives, and they contain irreplaceable historical information about families and communities. The production of records is continuous and large, but the bulk of the records has little value beyond the legal, administrative, and fiscal uses specified by statute. Only a few of the records are of permanent legal and historical value, but they contain key documentation of individuals' lives and property. These records also insure that government remains accountable to the citizens that it serves.

Local government officials are often short term, temporary custodians of the records that their offices generate; officials and their staffs come and go from office. The day to day pressures of an office can naturally assume more importance than the fate of boxes of paper rarely used and often out of sight in storage areas. Only when disaster strikes, such as fire, tornado or flood, or when storage space runs out do records become a priority, and often such attention comes too late to preserve valuable historical information.

*Documenting America: Assessing the Condition of Historical Records in the States* (1983) in its consultant report on local government records programs after reviewing twenty-seven state reports indicates that "there are no model local government records programs visible in these reports" (p. 20). In fact, there has been little attention to local government records across the country: "Nearly every state report emphasizes that few local governments have adequate records programs" (p. 20).

There are some common assumptions and concerns evident in the state reports about the handling and disposition of the records of local government:

- All reports assume "that local government records programs should be led by state archival institutions" (p.21). There is, however, little interaction generally between state and local government records programs, and, consequently, "There simply is little or no grassroots support, at present, for such state-directed programs" (p. 22).
- Noted as a major cause of neglect across the country "is the equally poor, or even non-existent, legislation relating to local government records" (p. 21). On the other hand, "Even where there is adequate legislation, it does not seem to be enforced" (p.21).
- On the issue of records storage, several states criticized "the

"... local government records are often the most fundamentally important of all records to the history and lives of individuals, neighborhoods, communities, towns, and cities. ... Leadership is needed. Planning is essential."  
Richard J. Cox,  
*Documenting America*, p. 28.



placement of public records in private institutions such as historical societies and local libraries" (p. 21). Others, however, "see the use of these institutions as the only feasible alternative to finding adequate storage space" (p. 21).

- Another universal and significant set of problems is "the absence of trained records administrators in local governments and the poor relationships between state archival institutions and the local governments" (p. 21).

The state reports were similar in their recommendations. Legislation was listed as the first priority for action. Also, there was the understanding—implicit or explicit and regardless of documented problems—that "state archival institutions must provide revitalized or new leadership in rectifying the neglect of local government records" (p.22). Almost without exception, however, states did not use the assessment report as a tool to begin forging links of cooperation with those local government units. Mississippi is a notable exception where staff made personal visits for information gathering, creating a positive atmosphere for growth and support.

Recommendations regarding future assessment reports and NHPRC actions included an explicit reminder that the state reports should be "advocacy documents" directed to the general public. The consultant pointed out the need for state advisory boards to include representatives from local government as "the single most important change to be made" in the NHPRC structure (p. 28).

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## The Indiana Situation

Indiana differs little from the states reviewed across the nation in that first round of state assessment reports. Even when an official wants to institute an adequate local records management program, the current legal situation in Indiana and the limited available help make real progress across the state unrealistic. Significant change is needed to preserve the records of Indiana local government entities in order to protect the interests of individuals, government, and all facets of society.

Indiana, a state of over 5 million citizens, has ninety-two counties ranging in population from Marion County at close to 800,000 people to several counties under 10,000 people. The ninety-two counties have various officials, as do the variety of smaller governmental subdivisions—cities, towns, school corporations, public libraries, townships, and cooperative governmental units, such as conservation districts and planning commissions—a conservative estimate is 6,800 offices statewide, each of which is generating records.\*

Legal authority for the management of local government records is contained in *Indiana Code* 5-15-6, Local Public Records Commissions, dating from 1939. Although the statute applying to records of state government was updated in 1979 to address modern records problems, the 1939 law on local government records stands nearly in its original form, restricted to a few specific areas. Clerks of the circuit court responding to the 1984 IAB/NHPRC survey were

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\*Title 36 of the *Indiana Code* deals with local government; title 33 deals with the courts.



divided nearly equally about the adequacy of the statute, but clearly better legislation is needed.

Among the subjects not adequately covered in the law are a current definition of public records, comprehensive retention and disposition schedules, guidelines for access and preservation of the records, security issues and care of machine readable information, and the authority of the state archival agency.

The law (IC 5-15-6-9) defines public records as they were recognized in the 1930s: "any written or printed book or paper or document or map or drawing" which is the property of any division of local government "and in or on which any entry has been made or is required to be made by law, or which any officer or employee of the state has received or is required to receive for filing." There is no recognition of machine readable records in the law.

Adequate guidelines are not available to Indiana's office holders to counter the new problems created by the use of automated information technology. The preservation problems of records in machine readable form have not been addressed, and office holders have little or no guidance in this matter. Furthermore, the medium facilitates the destruction of information, defeating present attempts to curtail unauthorized destruction of public records. Finally, the complex technology involved reportedly has been used by some office holders to deny citizens access to public information.

At present, the problem of machine readable records is primarily at the state level, and the Commission on Public Records is trying—with slight success—to address it. However, as computer systems become more prevalent in local government units, the problems will spread there as well. Although this technological revolution began only as recently as the 1970s, some experts estimate that it is potentially a greater problem than any other faced in state and local records in the past 150 years.

The most specific source of difficulty with the current law, according to those governed by it, is the provision for county records commissions which control the disposition of records. A county



*The Kosciusko County Historical Society Museum reference room makes records available to researchers. Photograph courtesy Charles R. Lamoree, Kosciusko County Historical Society.*



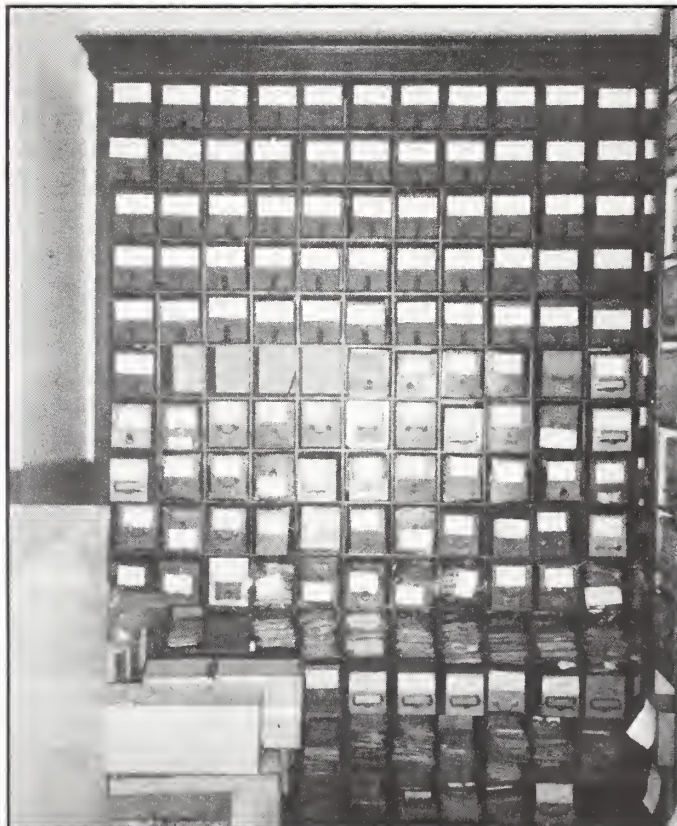
commission on public records is created in each Indiana county, consisting of seven members including representatives from the circuit court, the school system, the county commissioners, the county seat, and the county auditor and recorder. The responsibility of the records commission is to determine whether public records should be retained or destroyed according to their official or historical value.

The members of the county records commission are not required to meet with any regularity, nor are they compensated for their contributions. Rarely is there anyone among the members with training in records management or archival methodology. A 1981 study, *Local Government Records Management Problems in Indiana*, states that "many of the inefficiencies and duplications in the management of records systems could be eliminated by the creation of some kind of central authority over county records management systems" (p. 47).

In the late 1970s the State Archives provided an "outline of suggested practices and procedures" to county records commissions. Although prior to 1980 some records commissions had not met for decades as some individuals have charged, John Newman, former state archivist, asserts that he knows "of no local records commission that has not met in the last three years" (Memo, May 25, 1989).

When the present Indiana Commission on Public Records was created in 1979, there was an opportunity to provide for leadership in this area. Unfortunately, the statute governing the Commission (IC 5-15-5.1) refers to other than state records only in section 17,

*Bartholomew County commissioners spent over \$65,000 to remodel the former treasurer's office in the old courthouse for an archives room. The new Bartholomew County Archives contains records brought from the attic, cleaned and arranged with help from the State Archives, and placed on specially constructed shelving. In the photograph, probate, estate, and will records are shown partially arranged from the new at the top to the old at the bottom. Part-time workers are sorting and compiling indices to the records. Photograph courtesy Florence N. Carson, Bartholomew County Archives.*





which empowers the Commission to receive and copy records of any public office. The law which created the Commission (Acts 1979, Public Law 40) did, however, add a section to the Local Public Records Commissions chapter under the duties of the county commission: "The County Commission may request the assistance of the commission on public records established under IC 5-15-5.1 in developing information and forms management programs" (IC 5-15-6-2b). Conflicting language— dating from when the Archives was a part of the State Library—was not removed from several subsequent sections.

Handling of local public records continued after 1979 as before, following the procedures in a small pamphlet last revised in 1973, *Guide for Preservation and Destruction of Public Records*. That pamphlet outlined the procedural use of a 1970 PR 1 form "Request for Permission to Destroy or Transfer Certain Public Records" by the county records commission, which fulfilled the requirements of IC 5-15-6. In addition, a brief list of records and statutorial retention limits is included as a guide for office holders. The *Guide* also provides the text of IC 5-15-1, Records— Reproduction on Miniature and Destruction of Originals Authorized, in which records may be "recorded, copied, or reproduced by any photostatic, photographic or miniature photographic process" for duplication, preservation, or space saving purposes. Acts 1979, Public Law 40 substituted "micrographic" for "miniature photographic" and required compliance with Commission on Public Records standards for any micrographics.

Another state agency— the State Board of Accounts— has great impact on local government records. As delineated in its 1987-1988 *Annual Report* the State Board of Accounts has very broad responsibilities and maintains strong and valuable contacts with local governments of all types. Its staff coordinate with relevant professional organizations for office holders and provide manuals, training, and regular communications for public officials at all levels of local government.



*Records storage in the Blackford County Courthouse. Photograph courtesy John J. Newman.*



Functioning according to the *Guide* procedures and under IC 5-15-6, Commission on Public Records staff have continued as best they can to help local government office holders carry out their records responsibilities in addition to the other state agencies with direct concerns. The Commission on Public Records and the State Board of Accounts meet with new officeholders. The State Board of Accounts manuals contain information on record keeping practices. The Commission has lists of retention schedules for many local records.

The Records Management Section of the Supreme Court, formed in 1986, is providing strong direction for courts and clerks of circuit courts. According to John Newman, director of the Records Management Section, "The Court has created an active, central records management board . . . and has adopted a number of rules affecting record creation, maintenance and disposal, both directly and indirectly. The two main rules apply to microfilming standards and to retention schedules, but Administrative Rule 9 addresses access to public records while Administrative Rule 10, among other elements, outlaws lamination and destructive book rebinding practices, a significant problem . . . . Since July 14, 1986 . . . 82 of 92 counties have been visited for a total of 183 visits. This includes the destruction of court records, based on the retention schedules, in eighteen (18) counties. The Records Management Staff continues the practice of talking with clerks' and judges' associations, and it also conducts workshops" (Memo, May 25, 1989).

Local government officials, however, are heavily dependent upon the Commission on Public Records for advice on retention schedules, for clearing old records out of courthouses and other storage areas, and for disposing of numerous kinds of county and local government records. It is estimated that minimal "work in the counties" consumes ten to twenty percent of the state archivist's time. Even though no specific authority exists, the local government services have been requested and provided most appropriately under the broad provision mandating a statewide archival program within the Commission on Public Records (IC 5-15-5.1-5a10). John Newman, state archivist, 1970-1986, "ignored the inadequacy of the law and provided practical assistance." He—and the present archivist continues the practice—spoke to associations of local

*"Local government records are primarily local governments' responsibility, but every state has a duty to provide oversight and assistance to local governments in support of this responsibility."* State Government Records and the Public Interest.

*County Building,  
Dearborn County.  
Photograph courtesy  
John J. Newman.*





officials and provided consultations. In addition, records retention schedules were generated for many local government officials based on extensive research. Although the schedules cover only about 20% of all records created, [they] represent about 80% of all [records] that have no enduring legal, fiscal, administrative and research values. Using these as a basis, 47 counties have had truck-loads of records destroyed, 1970-to the present, representing approximately 75,000 cubic feet, or about 9,400 four-drawer file cabinets. The staff of the Archives personally examined each cubic foot of records **before** destruction. We knew that we could not select for preservation records of enduring value by transfer to the State Archives for lack of room, so we concentrated our efforts on the removal of those of no value . . . . By doing this, we have saved records of value . . . by preventing unsupervised wholesale destruction of records—both valuable and worthless because of fire or safety regulations. (Memo, May 25, 1989).

For sixteen years state funding to establish a local government records staff position in the State Archives has been requested; the requests have not been funded. If Indiana is to provide adequate care for its local government records, the General Assembly must address the statutory requirements for both the Commission on Public Records and for local government records. Along with the program of the Indiana Supreme Court, successful recent programs in other states—such as Kentucky and New York—need to be examined. Indiana needs to move rapidly to assign responsibility and authority for a cost effective local government records program that addresses present and future needs as well as the neglect of the past.

Indiana really has no local government records program in law, and no staff has ever been hired solely to conduct or assist with it. Any efforts have been discretionary and usually carried out by the state archivist and his staff as time and interest permitted. Generally in response to a specific request, the following services may be made available to local office holders: information on microfilming, preparation of retention schedules, guidance on the destruction of records, and assistance with the transfer of records.

Respondents to the 1984 IAB/NHPRC survey indicated a varying degree of awareness of the services of the Commission on Public Records. Three fourths of the clerks of the circuit court who responded state that they are familiar with the services and programs of the Commission. Services used by clerks responding include application for permission to destroy records, information on microfilming, preparation of retention schedules, and transfer of records to the State Archives or to a local historical society. The Records Management Section of the Supreme Court now addresses the needs of the clerks, and rules with the force of law provide their guidelines.

County auditors responding most frequently consulted the Commission with applications for permission to destroy records or transfer them to local historical societies. Auditors reporting rarely inquired about information on microfilming records, about preparation of retention schedules, or about transferring records to the State Archives. Auditors responding expressed the desire for more frequent personal visits by State Archives personnel—although no

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## **Present Services and Conditions**



auditor favored paying for services on a cost-of-service basis. The most popular service of the Commission that county recorders responding have used is application for permission to destroy records. Most of those answering the questionnaire had not consulted the Commission about information on microfilming, analysis of records for microfilming, preparation of retention schedules, or transfer of records to the State Archives or local historical societies. Many respondents to the survey reported a need for updated retention schedules which would enlarge upon the PR 1 packet of retention guide information distributed by the Commission. Although the staff of the State Archives has produced many such schedules, considerable more work in this area is needed.

Responses to the IAB/NHPRC survey reveal a desperate need for resources in order to care for the records of local government in Indiana. One major problem is lack of adequate storage facilities.

Not one county recorder or auditor, clerk of the circuit court, township trustee, or city/town clerk/treasurer responding to the IAB/NHPRC survey expressed confidence in the environmental conditions in which their records were kept. Not only are storage conditions environmentally unsound, they are insufficient as well. In May, 1984 the state archivist estimated that 1.2 million cubic feet of county, city, school, and other local government records then existed—one third of which were of permanent value. Not enough suitable storage sites existed at that time for these records, and the situation in most locations has worsened as more records have been generated.

Even though they are experiencing a continuing shortage of space, local officials are not able to take sufficient advantage of the opportunities of micrographics. Microfilming of records not only saves space when records can be destroyed, it also reduces the wear and tear on records of permanent value by making film available to users—a medium that can easily be reproduced and made available in multiple copies.

Indiana has had some success in microfilming valuable records. In collaboration with a national microfilming program of the Genea-



*Records storage in the Switzerland County Courthouse. Photograph courtesy John J. Newman.*



logical Society of Utah, Indiana in 1981 began the County Records of Indiana Microfilm Project (CRIMP). Of primary interest to be microfilmed are local records to 1917 which contain vital information and are also of genealogical interest, including many types of courthouse records. The Indiana Supreme Court in 1986 established Administrative Rule 6 with standards affecting all court records in order for micrographic copies to be legally acceptable in the courts. The Oversight Committee on Public Records has acted to promulgate parallel rules for state government. These actions are significant, but standards must also be mandated for the filming of all local government records.

In spite of the advantages of microfilming and Indiana's measured successes, fewer than half of the local government officials responding to the 1984 IAB/NHPRC survey reported having a microfilm camera or reader. Many of these individuals reported that a microfilm system would be the most useful new equipment when asked to select from a list which included a photocopying machine, a word processor, and movable shelving to increase storage capacity. With adequate resources and standards local government officials could take better advantage of microfilming opportunities, thereby reducing storage space needed for records and making information more readily available to users.

Related also to facilities is the matter of conservation. In many areas permanently valuable local government records are deteriorating rapidly due to inattention. Many records are still being stored in acidic cardboard boxes—or worse, and in areas that are totally unsatisfactory environmentally. These hazardous conditions endanger public access to many valuable records. Most respondents to the survey noted only two reliable facets on a list of nine pertaining to conservation: air conditioning and fluorescent lights were generally considered adequate. All other facets—security, fire detection and automatic extinguishing systems, temperature and humidity controls and the capability for reduced light intensities—were reported as unreliable.

Moreover, Indiana has not completed planning to preserve the "vital records" of local government, nor assisted local governments in the development of disaster plans. Thus, even records determined to be worthy of preservation remain in great physical danger because there is no conservation program to handle either long term needs or crisis situations. An adequately staffed and equipped conservation laboratory under the Commission on Public Records could also provide leadership and guidance for local government officials in the proper care of their records.

There is also a problem throughout the state regarding accessibility of information in local government records. The 1984 IAB/NHPRC survey results on the issues of public access presented a confused and contradictory attitude. The majority of individuals responding stated that their records were available to the public five days a week. The majority also said that they would benefit from guides and manuals for public use and guidelines for their own use. However, fully a third of those responding did not consider assisting the public with requests to be a necessary part of their duties. It needs to be stated more clearly in the law that providing access to public records is as important as housing them.

*"Records of local government . . . that remain in the county courthouses and city, town, and village halls of the nation conceal the unwritten and unknown history of America."*

*H. G. Jones  
Local Government  
Records, p. 108.*



Local government officials responding were inconsistent in their handling of documents containing sensitive information according to the survey responses. Some files such as health records, police and court files, and social service records pose special problems to local government officials because of the sensitive nature of the information contained within them. However, for the benefit of Indiana's citizens, there must be continued education of officials about the content and meaning of IC 5-14-3, Access to Public Records, which was added to the Indiana Code by Public Law 19, Acts 1983.

Perhaps, the greatest problem is general lack of understanding about the crisis in local government records and about the importance of local government records in maintaining the history, character, and continuity of a locale and its government. Unfortunately, user groups can also be part of the problem. Historical groups, for example, must also learn the dictates of records management that necessitate the destruction of many nonpermanent records in order to save those of enduring value.

Some members of the general public are cognizant of the value of local government records; however, they are unaware, for the most part, of the danger the records are in from lack of adequate care. The public overall is uninformed about the research value of local records, as well as about their cultural significance. Results of the IAB/NHPRC survey reveal that only a small portion of the users

*"Appraisal is described as 'the process of determining the value and thus the disposition of records based upon their current administrative, legal, and fiscal use; their evidential and informational or research value; their arrangement; and their relationship to other records.' The objective of the appraisal process is the determination of how long and under what conditions particular records series ought to be preserved, if not permanently. Appraisal is not biased toward retention or disposition; it seeks to assure the preservation of records as long as prudence and good government require, but it also seeks to contribute to good government by legally authorizing disposal when particular records have fulfilled their usefulness."*

*H. G. Jones,*

*Local Government Records, p. 43.*

*Records storage  
in the Union County Courthouse.  
Photograph courtesy John J. Newman.*





of local government records are, in fact, the general public. Most users are categorized as attorneys, abstractors, historians, and genealogists.

The survey cannot, however, indicate the numbers of private citizens and students who would use the material if they knew of it, or if the records were more accessible. Nor can it indicate the number of individuals who would demand improved programs if they had a better understanding of the vital significance of the records. This is an unfortunate situation because the public could be particularly useful in assuring that public officials provide the laws and resources necessary to maintain and preserve valuable administrative and historical records of local government.

A major key to success involves education about local government records management—education of officials, of boards which control finances, of members of the General Assembly, of users, and of the general public which eventually pays the tab regardless of whether a program is cost effective or not. Indiana's recommendations sound like those from *Documenting America*, and there is a good reason: Indiana's local government records situation needs immediate and significant improvement at all levels before it is too late to salvage the most basic documentation of the lives and heritage of Indiana and its citizens.

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**LG1.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board (IAB) should assume a leadership role in pursuing the recommendations of this report, enlisting the support of individuals and organizations including the Society of Indiana Archivists, Association of Indiana Counties, Association of Cities and Towns, associations of local government officials, Indiana Library Association, County Historians, the Indiana State Bar Association, members of the historical, genealogical, preservation and academic communities. One major facet of that leadership role should be assisting in the education of the general public to enlist support for archival and records management concerns. Another major facet should be establishment of lines of communication with relevant groups to monitor progress toward stated goals and to keep needed information flowing.

**LG 2.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should work with the state administration, members of the General Assembly, and interested organizations to assure that IC 5-15-6, the Local Public Records Commissions law, is studied and amended to provide Indiana with a modern and comprehensive records management program for local government records. Elements of that law should address the following problems:

- The role of the Commission on Public Records must be clearly delineated, and staff and funding to carry out that role must be provided;
- There must be a recognition of and provision for modern records practices and concerns, such as a current comprehensive definition of public records, means to dispose of the records as necessary, comprehensive retention and disposition schedules, authorization for the use of replevin, guidelines for public access to

## **Recommendations for Local Government Records**



data bases and records including those of a sensitive nature, authorization for the use of machine readable records and photocopies, standards for micrographics, and penalties for violation of the law.

- The effectiveness of the system of county records commissions should be studied, with attention to a possible regional or statewide mechanism for the disposition of local government records.

**LG 3.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board and interested organizations should cooperate with the Commission on Public Records to improve the education of local government officials regarding records management. Among the tools and methods should be guidelines for improved public access to records, promotion of the use of microfilming, a records manual for local government officials, videos on the basics of records management for officials, encouragement of local historical societies and libraries to sponsor records workshops, and more training programs with the State Board of Accounts, the Indiana Supreme Court, and at association meetings.

**LG 4.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should work with the Commission on Public Records and other appropriate agencies and organizations to study alternative storage systems for local government records and recommend a solution for Indiana. The study should examine alternatives to the present system including public local records centers and a regional repository system for Indiana. Programs of this kind in other states, such as Minnesota, Ohio, and Illinois, should be studied. Costs and potential funding sources should also be examined.

**LG 5.** The Commission on Public Records should move rapidly to make available guidelines and standards for machine readable records. The guidelines must address public access to information in machine readable format, as well as technical standards for the preservation of machine readable information.

**LG 6.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board, the Commission on Public Records, and related organizations should study conservation needs on the local level and provide a set of recommendations to be pursued by designated parties. The study should include an assessment of current and future needs as well as possible solutions. Basic conservation concerns should be highlighted, as well as strategies for the creation of vital records programs and disaster plans for county and local government records.

*"Records have been called extensions of the human memory, mirrors of society, clues for understanding the human experience, and grist for the historian's mill. They may be the best and most useful sources for historical evidence about what actually happened in the past."*  
Bruce W. Dearstyne, Local Historical Records.



# The Status of Indiana's Historical Records

According to the consultant on historical records repositories in *Documenting America: Assessing the Condition of Historical Records in the States* (1983) "historical records programs throughout the country face some very difficult problems indeed" (p. 37). Although circumstances differ, the problems are remarkably similar: "the majority of repositories are underfunded, understaffed, underused, and underappreciated" (p. 45).

The states reported a pattern of decentralized repositories and repositories "which are barely capable of providing even the most rudimentary and basic maintenance of their holdings" (p. 40). In addition, nationally, there is a great disparity between the situations of large and small repositories (p. 41). Lack of leadership and communication in the historical records community was also a pervasive problem reported (p. 42).

The consultant's recommendations to NHPRC and for future assessment grants addressed specific areas of concern brought out in the state reports.

- The consultant recommended that state records coordinators and advisory boards take a leadership role and "work to develop public awareness of the importance and cultural value of historical records" (p. 42) and engage users of repositories as advocates for improvement.

- According to the consultant, organizations representing and related to historical records must become more effective advocates by opening regular means of communication in order to advance common concerns more effectively.

- Standards are needed for repositories, stated the consultant, and "a consortium of funding agencies and professional organizations should adopt the program of the Society of American Archivists' Institutional Evaluation Services to upgrade archival programs and promote accountability" (p. 43).

- The need for educational opportunities for archivists was most widespread. Therefore said the consultant, the historical records community must recognize that need and address it through in-service training and continuing education using collaborative efforts and existing models from the Society of American Archivists and others.

- Noting the proliferation of repositories, the consultant stated "that small repositories are as capable as large repositories in developing historical records programs. The issue is resources no matter what the size of the archives" (p. 44). A program of repository evaluation should encourage inadequate repositories to transfer historical records to locations capable of caring for them.

- Also recommended was planning for coordinated documentation strategies such as collection policies that assure limited resources will be used to obtain the most comprehensive documentation.

Once again, the problems and recommendations that follow in this report about Indiana will sound similar to this national situation. In the years since 1983 when *Documenting America* was published there has been some progress in the production of edu-

## In Perspective

*"In the best sense of the Declaration of Independence, the day of the common man and the common woman has come, and, given the opportunity, the documents of their local environment will provide both this and generations to come with the materials from which to document the real American history."*  
Nancy Sahli,  
Local History  
Manuscripts.



cational resources, guidelines, and some exciting model programs in various areas. One thing has not changed—the need to heighten awareness in order to bring much-needed resources to repositories for the preservation of the historical records of Indiana.

## An Introduction to Indiana

Although much of this report focuses on state and local government records, they are certainly not the only ones important for understanding the history and people of the state. Indiana's development and characteristics have resulted not only from government action, but from the private initiatives of businesses, academic and religious institutions, not-for-profit organizations, clubs, and individual citizens. In order for such non-governmental elements of Indiana's history to be studied and their roles understood, records documenting their activities must be preserved. The responsibility for preserving private records rests with two types of repositories: archives that are established by institutions to preserve their own permanently valuable records; and manuscript repositories, often associated with universities, public libraries, or historical societies, which collect historical records created by individuals and organizations.

In the fall of 1984, the Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (IAB/NHPRC) surveyed Indiana repositories holding private historical records in an attempt to determine conditions in the repositories and of the records under their care. Almost half (153) of the institutions that house historical records returned this sixty-eight question survey form. Most institutions not responding were small and hold few records; so the survey results can be a reliable indication of the condition of historical records in the state.

In addition to the IAB/NHPRC survey, information in this section depends upon two other surveys: Donald E. Thompson, *Preliminary Checklist of Archives and Manuscripts in Indiana Repositories* (Indiana Historical Society, 1980) and L.C. Rudolph and Judith E.

*The corporate archives of Miles Inc., a 104-year-old pharmaceutical company in Elkhart, are housed in a post-modern style Visitors Center which emphasizes archival exhibits. Photograph courtesy Donald N. Yates, Miles Inc.*





Endelman, *Religion in Indiana: a Guide to Historical Resources* (Indiana University Press, 1986).

For purposes of this report, the term "historical records repositories" will refer to libraries, archives, museums, historical societies, colleges, and other institutions that hold historical records and make them available to the public. Included in this category are archives of the state's public universities because they are independent of the state Commission on Public Records. Records in the State Archives or in county courthouses are discussed in other sections of the report and are not considered here.

Historical records repositories in the state may be classified into three categories:

- first, those having at least one paid full-time professional archivist, holding at least 500 cubic feet of records, and having an explicit policy of regularly acquiring historical records;
- second, those having part-time volunteer or paid staff, holding less than 500 cubic feet of records, and acquiring records on an irregular basis; and
- third, those with no staff, a small number of records, and little interest in collecting more records.

Both the NHPRC and Thompson surveys indicate that most of the state's historical records repositories fall in the third category; only about twenty are in the first, and perhaps thirty are in the second. The surveys also indicate that the twenty institutions in the first category house an overwhelming majority of historical records in the



*"The documentation of local religious activity would appear to be an appropriate task for local history and regional collections, reflecting as it does such a broad and significant aspect of human endeavor. Judith E. Endelman, "Religious Archives in Indiana."*

*A work area at the Archives of DePauw University and Indiana United Methodism, Roy O. West Library. Photograph courtesy Wes Wilson, Archives of DePauw University, Greencastle.*



state's repositories, perhaps as much as 90 percent; the institutions in the second category have most of the remaining 10 percent. These categories do not have firm boundaries, and undoubtedly some institutions fall between categories.

In spite of the abundance of small repositories, this section primarily examines how these few major repositories with professional staff and proper facilities are preserving Indiana's historical records and making them available for public use since it is these repositories that are responsible for most of the historical records collected in the state. The final part of the section briefly addresses the status of small repositories.

Although this section distinguishes between large and small repositories, the "large" repositories are not large by the standards of other states or institutions. The Indiana Historical Society, which has one of the largest staffs of any repository in the state, has only 4 professional archivists/manuscripts librarians. Most repositories have only one or two professionals and a similar number of non-professionals. In all, there are probably only two to three dozen widely dispersed (except for Indianapolis) professional archivists in the state.

Many of the problems discussed in this section are the result of an inadequate number of trained people working in Indiana to save historical records. There are certainly some important short term projects that could help improve Indiana's situation without requiring significant additional resources. Over the long term, however, Indiana's historical records will continue to be endangered and inadequately accessible to the public unless more resources from a variety of sources are devoted to appropriate collection, preservation, and access.

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## **Collecting Indiana Historical Records**

The primary responsibility of historical records repositories is to select and preserve significant historical documents. A few repositories in Indiana have specific responsibility for preserving documentation on the state's history, several repositories have national or international collecting interests, and many others specialize in records from only one institution or locale. As a whole, the records preserved in Indiana's repositories determine to a substantial degree what historical research is possible now and in the future, and consequently those records determine our understanding of the state's past. The 1984 IAB/NHPRC survey did not attempt to determine the types of records being preserved, but by drawing on that survey and the Thompson and religion surveys, some observations are possible about how well repositories are preserving the records of Indiana's history.

- First, there is much more documentation being preserved on some types of institutions and activities than on others. Academic and religious institutions are the most extensively documented institutions in the state since many colleges and universities have archives and many church denominations have either their own archives or an arrangement with a church-affiliated college to maintain their archives. Examples of strong archival programs for universities and churches are abundant. Most of the major universities in the state now have institutional archives; the largest are at



the University of Notre Dame and Indiana University. A number of small colleges also have good programs, such as those at Wabash College, DePauw University, and Valparaiso University.

The status of religious records in Indiana varies according to the religion or denomination. The Roman Catholic Church probably has more of its records preserved than any other denomination since many of its dioceses and religious orders maintain archives; in addition, there is a substantial collection of Roman Catholic Church records at the University of Notre Dame Archives. Indiana also contains a number of important Protestant denomination archives, such as the Methodist archives at DePauw University and the Quaker archives at Earlham College.

Modern businesses and industries in contrast appear to preserve very few records that will document their activities for future researchers. There are a few strong corporate archives programs, most notably Miles Laboratories in Elkhart, Eli Lilly and Company in Indianapolis, the Ball Corporation in Muncie, and the Golden Rule Insurance Company in Indianapolis.

- Second, Indiana has three major manuscript repositories which have collected historical records statewide, documenting a broad range of subjects: the Indiana State Library, a state agency; the Indiana Historical Society, a private, not-for-profit organization; and the Lilly Library at Indiana University, Bloomington. The Indiana State Library and the Indiana Historical Society are located in the Indiana State Library and Historical Building in downtown Indianapolis. Although all three have statewide collections, in recent years the collecting efforts of the repositories have varied considerably.

Of the three, the Indiana Historical Society, organized in 1830, is by far the most active in collecting Indiana historical records. Until ten years ago, the Indiana Historical Society's library consisted of a small but rich collection of rare books and manuscripts on the early history of Indiana and the Old Northwest. After the Society received



*The Calumet Regional Archives is conveniently located in the Indiana University Northwest library in Gary. Photograph courtesy Stephen McShane and IUN News and Publications.*



a large bequest from the Eli Lilly estate in 1977, it was able to devote substantially greater staff and resources to collecting historical records from the twentieth century. The Society now has particularly strong collections of manuscripts on the history of blacks and ethnic groups in Indiana and on the history of private social welfare, as well as notable collections of photographs and architectural records.

The Indiana State Library, established in 1825, is both the largest and oldest repository for manuscripts on Indiana history. Its collections are a valuable source of information on a wide range of topics; its greatest strengths are in the early history of the state and twentieth century Indiana politics. Unfortunately, the State Library has never recovered from the budget cuts in the early 1980s and no longer has the staff support or funds to seek new collections.

The Lilly Library at Indiana University is the most prominent of the three major repositories, with collections of international significance in American and British literature, Latin American history, and early American history. It also holds such major Indiana collections as the papers of politicians Charles W. Fairbanks and Paul V. McNutt and the business records of the Bobbs-Merrill Publishing Company and the Howard Shipyards and Dock Company. In spite of its major state holdings, however, the Lilly Library primarily focuses its collecting activities on national or international topics rather than on Indiana history.

- Third, repositories which concentrate their collecting on a region of the state have played an increasingly important role in preserving Indiana's historical records over the last twenty years. Most significant among these regional repositories are the Calumet Regional Archives at Indiana University Northwest, Gary, which collects in the Calumet area; Ball State University's Special Collections, which collects primarily in Muncie and Delaware County; the University of Southern Indiana and the Willard Library, which collect in the Evansville area; the Lewis Historical Library at Vincennes University; the Tippecanoe County Historical Association in Lafayette; and the Allen County-Fort Wayne Historical Society. As the list suggests, there are major areas of the state where there is no professional repository actively collecting—southeast Indiana, for example. Even in the regions with active repositories, collecting is usually constrained by extremely limited resources for staff and storage space.

*The Stevens Museum and Archives of the Washington County Historical Society, Salem.  
Photograph courtesy Willie Harlen, the Stevens Museum.*





- Because there are so few institutions with proper staff and facilities actively engaged in collecting, much important documentation of the state's history is being lost. In the long term, only additional resources will solve the problem. In the short term, the leading institutions must communicate and make efficient use of their resources so that the documentation preserved is representative of life in the state. Repositories must be well-informed about each other's holdings and collecting activities so that they avoid competing for collections and so that necessary collections are acquired. Staff at these repositories need to plan and coordinate collecting activities, perhaps in cooperation with repositories in neighboring states, in order to insure that records of major activities in the state and midwestern region are preserved.

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The second major responsibility of a repository is to make its records accessible to the public. Making records accessible involves describing them at two levels. First, to serve patrons in the repository, the institution should have finding aids to help identify and retrieve pertinent materials for a researcher. Second, to let researchers know about its holdings, the repository should make information available to a wider audience, primarily through such means as a published guide to collections, submission of information about holdings to regional or national directories, submission of collection descriptions to the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections (NUCMC), or inclusion of collection descriptions in the OCLC or RLIN national bibliographic databases.

Unfortunately, the 1984 IAB/NHPRC survey indicates that a large percentage of the historical records in repositories are either undescribed or described in an inadequate fashion. Moreover, many of the records which have been described have not been reported to NUCMC or included in any widely available bibliography or guide, so they are inaccessible to the research community at large. Researchers' access to and use of the state's historical records has also been hampered by the absence of standard descriptive practices among the major repositories. The most prominent example of this problem in Indiana is in the Indiana State Library and Historical Building, where the State Library, the Indiana Historical Society, and the Commission on Public Records each has a different format for describing its collections. In addition to confusing researchers, lack of standardization in descriptive practice has also made it difficult for archival repositories to develop methods for routinely sharing information about holdings.

The development of computers has made it practical for archival institutions to share information about their collections and to make the information readily available to the general public. The opportunity for integrating archival materials into the larger world of information resources is particularly promising in Indiana. The Indiana Library and Information Services Network described in *INDIANA Long-Range Plan For Library Services and Development: 1985-1990* provides the opportunity and the future potential for resources sharing throughout the state and the nation. One component of that network, the Indiana Cooperative Library Services Authority (INCOLSA) through OCLC has linked a variety of

## **Access to Indiana Historical Records**

*"If you want the history of a white man, you go to the library. If you want the history of black women, you go to the attics, the closets, and the basements."*  
Alta Jett,  
Black Women in the Middle West  
Project Report, p. 1.

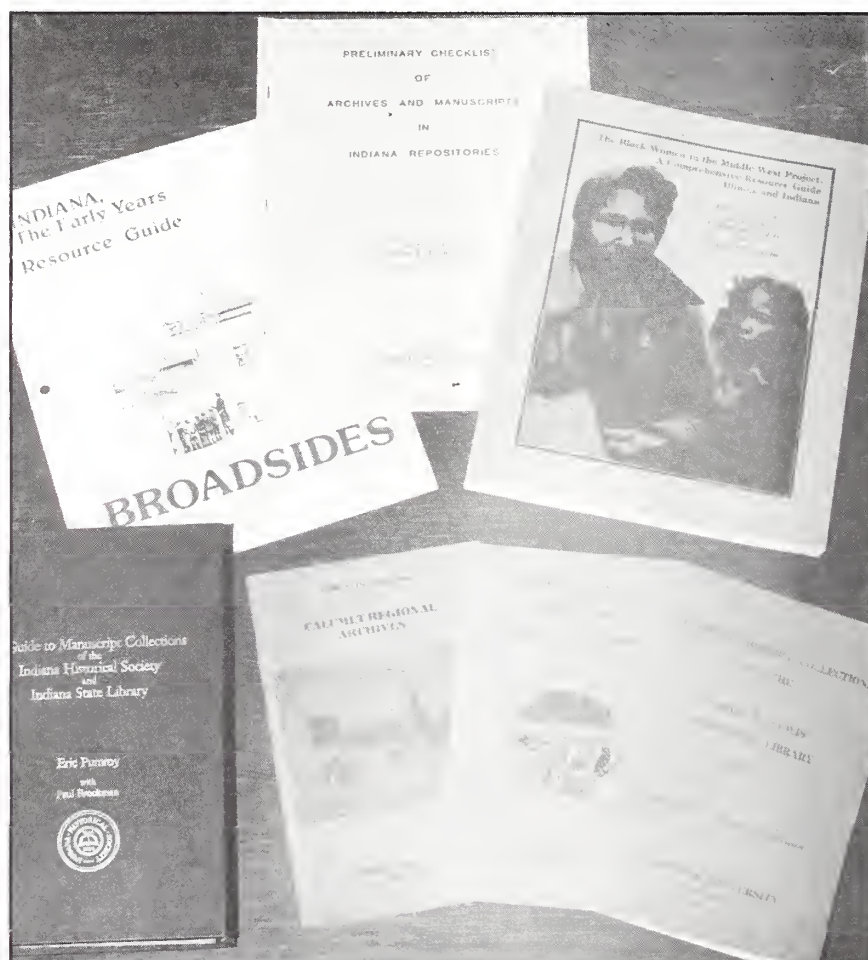


libraries for many years, and there is rapidly advancing planning for a statewide university library automation system. The state's public universities, along with the Indiana State Library, have begun to set up a network of computerized catalogs of their collections. Within a few years, the systems should allow library users throughout the state to have access to information about the holdings of most of Indiana's major libraries. The optimum plan would link this university system, other libraries, and public and private repositories.

Statewide computer networks present archival repositories with a means to attract much greater use of their collections. In order to take advantage of this opportunity, however, repositories first must convert their cataloging information to the MARC AMC (MACHine Readable Cataloging, Archives and Manuscripts Control) format, the format acceptable to library on-line catalogs. The MARC AMC format was not adopted as the national standard until the early 1980s, so the vast majority of collections are described in an incompatible manner.

At large institutions the task of recataloging collections into the MARC AMC format would be an enormous one. Considering the small staffs at even large institutions, a recataloging project probably will not be undertaken unless additional resources are made available. In contrast, many small repositories could recatalog their

*Indiana institutions and projects have produced various printed resources to promote the use of archival materials. This sample includes (clockwise from top left) the BROADSIDES program of the Indiana Historical Bureau; Donald Thompson's 1980 checklist of repositories; the final report of the Black Women in the Middle West Project; a guide to the collection of the Lewis Library, Vincennes University; a guide to the collections at the present University of Southern Indiana; a Guide to the Collections of the Calumet Regional Archives; and the guide to the collections of the Indiana Historical Society and the Indiana State Library. Photograph by Ray Boomhower.*





collections quickly enough, but they lack the necessary professional training and the access to the library computer networks.

In spite of the formidable obstacles, archival repositories in the state must find ways to participate in the library computer networks, or the state's historical records will remain inaccessible to large numbers of Indiana's citizens.

The IAB/NHPRC and Thompson surveys have shown that Indiana may have as many as four hundred repositories for historical records, but most of them lack the expertise and resources to handle their collections properly. The two largest groups containing impoverished repositories are public libraries and local historical societies; both types of repositories have a potentially important role to play in preserving the records of their communities and should be encouraged to assume that role when it can be performed adequately.

Lack of expertise in small repositories is the easier problem to address. The Indiana Historical Society, for example, has offered well-attended workshops in recent years on handling local historical collections in libraries and historical societies. Such continuing education workshops should be offered at various levels throughout the state by available sponsors such as the Indiana Historical Society or Society of Indiana Archivists. Further, professionally trained archivists should be encouraged to act as consultants to institutions in their region so that historical society volunteers and library staff would have a ready means for expert advice.

The lack of resources is the more difficult problem to address, in part because the most desirable and cost-effective solutions are generally complicated by emotional issues and local pride. Although seed money from short-term grant projects is useful and desirable, long term funding stability for repositories must be dealt with at the local level. When inadequately funded repositories cannot raise more money, they should seek ways to make the most efficient use of existing resources.

One promising way of doing that is to pool resources with similar institutions. Historical societies with collections and volunteers but no acceptable facility might transfer their collections to the local

## Small Repositories in Indiana



*The Wetherill Historical Resource Center of the Tippecanoe County Historical Association across from the TCHA Museum contains a library and archives open to the public for research. Photograph courtesy Sallie Cooke, Tippecanoe County Historical Association, Lafayette.*



public library and offer some funding and volunteers to handle the processing. Historical societies and public libraries from a number of counties might combine their collections in a single institution, with pooled contributions of money and volunteer assistance from all. Institutions seeking the best means of preserving the physical records might also transfer their collections to a regional repository with a professional archival program or to one of the statewide repositories. Unfortunately, an area's resources and preservation interests are not always able to support adequately a local historical records collection; then historically-minded people can best serve their locale and the state by seeing that important records are preserved elsewhere.

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## **Recommendations for Indiana's Historical Records**

**HR 1.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board (IAB) should work with the state's historical records repositories to carry out a cooperative collection analysis to determine which subjects, regions, and time periods of Indiana history are well-documented and which are not.

The results of the analysis should then be used by the IAB and the repositories as a basis for re-evaluating collection policies, encouraging new or expanded repositories where needed, and determining priorities for collecting projects.

As part of this total process, the IAB should encourage the Indiana State Library and the Indiana Historical Society to examine their programs and priorities jointly to determine how they can best use their resources to help preserve the state's historical records.

**HR 2.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should sponsor a workshop for historians, archivists, librarians, social scientists, and public policymakers to examine the topic "Documenting Indiana." Conference participants should address such issues as the state of historical scholarship on modern Indiana, strengths and weaknesses in the documentary record currently preserved by repositories, the nature of modern records and methods for collecting and preserving them, and the importance of historical records for the operations of government and business and for enhancing the cultural life of the state.

As a result of the conference, planning groups should be formed to work with the IAB to identify activities in the state for which records need to be preserved and to determine appropriate resources for collecting and preserving those records.

**HR 3.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should promote the improvement of existing repositories and the establishment of new repositories in order to enhance the collection and preservation of Indiana's historical records. Start-up grants for new archives, such as the one used successfully in establishing the university archives at Indiana State University, should be a priority of the IAB.

Regional campuses of the state's public universities and major public libraries should be encouraged to establish or expand archival programs focusing on the heritage of their region. Indiana



University Northwest's Calumet Regional Archives can serve as a model for programs in other regions.

The IAB, collaborating with local chapters of the American Records Managers Association (ARMA) and such groups as chambers of commerce, should encourage businesses to establish archival programs to preserve their part in the state's history.

**HR 4.** As a means of building research collections in regions or subject areas where existing documentation is limited, the Indiana Advisory Board should encourage and support cooperative institutional collecting projects.

The most recent example of a successful inter-institutional collecting project is the Black Women in the Middle West Project, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, which resulted in the acquisition of important black history collections by the Indiana Historical Society, the Calumet Regional Archives, and other repositories in the state.

**HR 5.** The archival, library, and historical communities should work to educate their legislators and seek improved public funding for the Indiana State Library so that the Library can resume an active role in collecting historical records and have the means to care properly for the records in its possession.

**HR 6.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should cooperate with the Society of Indiana Archivists in completing and distributing a directory of Indiana repositories containing descriptions of each repository's major holdings.

**HR 7.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should work with the state's major repositories to begin planning for a statewide guide to archival collections in the state. Ideally, the guide would include descriptions of all individual manuscript collections in Indiana repositories and begin the foundation for a statewide database. The IAB should investigate similar successful projects in Kentucky and Washington as models for an Indiana project.

**HR 8.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should solicit and support grant applications for projects that will arrange and describe collections of historically significant Indiana records not currently accessible.

The IAB should also support projects that will result in published guides to repository holdings. So that information about newly described collections is made widely available, the IAB should require that all such projects report collection descriptions to the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections (NUCMC).

**HR 9.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should work with representatives of the leading archival repositories in the state to form an advisory group to examine the issues involved in adopting the MARC AMC (Machine Readable Catalog, Archives and Manuscripts Control) format; to agree on standard methods of using the format, to monitor library network developments, and to plan for the inclusion of archival descriptions in national databases.



The advisory group and the IAB should also develop a plan to convert existing descriptions of archival collections to the MARC AMC format, perhaps through a cooperative project of the state's major repositories.

**HR 10.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should work with the archival community in Indiana to develop better relations with the library community, with particular attention to the Indiana Library and Information Services Network component of *INDIANA Long-Range Plan For Library Services And Development*, in order to stay current with developments in library automation and networks, and to ensure that archival considerations are taken into account when networks are being planned.

**HR 11.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should help to enhance the role of the Indiana Division, Indiana State Library as a centralized location for finding aids to Indiana historical records collections to supplement on-line data access to collections.

**HR 12.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should encourage professional archivists in the state to provide frequent opportunities for local historical society volunteers and library staff members to learn appropriate methods of handling historical records.

Training sessions should also provide opportunities for participants to meet local professional archivists to whom they can turn for advice. These sessions should be scheduled so that people in each region of the state who work with historical records can get to know each other and become accustomed to working together on solutions to common problems.

**HR 13.** Small repositories, such as local historical societies and public libraries, should be encouraged to examine existing archival resources and devise collaborative solutions for the preservation of local history collections.

The Indiana Advisory Board should encourage such collaborative efforts through small start-up grants.

*This photograph collected by the Black Women in the Middle West Project, shows the Tuberculosis Convalescent Camp at Oak Hill, Indiana, established in 1905 by the Women's Improvement Club of Indianapolis. Photograph courtesy Indiana Historical Society.*





## Functions and Services of Statewide Importance

### In Perspective

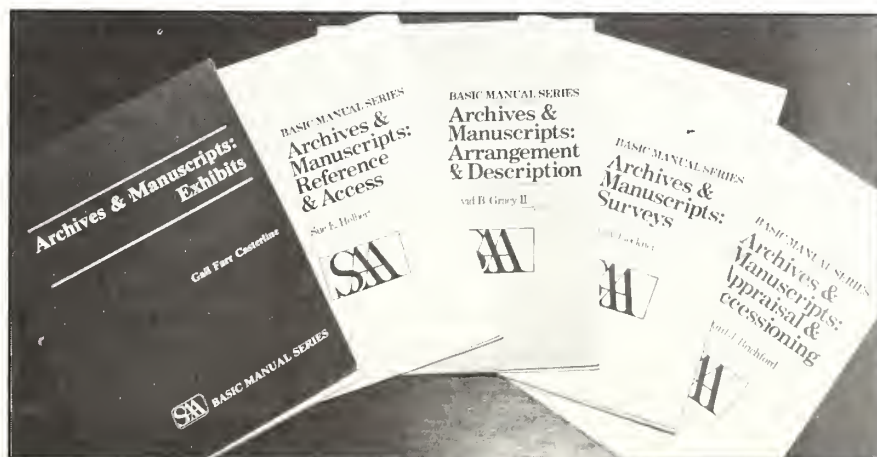
The consultant report on this section in *Documenting America: Assessing the Condition of Historical Records in the States* (1983) begins with a comparison of the archival profession to "Sisyphus endlessly rolling his rock up the mountainside" (p. 47). The identified needs in the state reports were similar, widespread, and of long standing. Most states also exhibited a "conflict between the desire for central direction and a strong tradition of local control" (p. 47).

Education and training were the most often cited needs in the state reports—at all levels and for a broad range of groups. Most reports called for in-service and continuing education through courses, workshops, written material, etc. for working archivists; few mentioned the need to learn new techniques and technologies that are having a great impact on the profession. Most reports also called for education of the public, administrators, and budget officers.

A second theme was the need for better dissemination of information to overcome the gaps between fellow archivists and between those in related professions. The negative impact of such gaps on adequate planning and setting of priorities was often cited. Delegating the communication function to professional associations rather than using it to enhance state agency service was also a trend.

Conservation was also a nearly unanimous concern—disaster planning, preventive care and maintenance, proper environmental storage, and better microfilm programs were frequently mentioned. Very few states called for a central state conservation laboratory to address obvious and crucial needs because the potential clients did not have the funding to support the operating costs.

A statewide directory of repositories and a statewide guide to collections were also recognized as important needs to improve both collecting efforts and research access. The possibility of establishing regional repositories for certain records was cited as a possible solution in most reports. Cooperative purchasing of supplies was mentioned by nearly half the reports.



The Basic Manual Series and other resources of the Society of American Archivists are available for continuing education of archivists and manuscripts curators. Photograph by Ray Boomhower.



Few reports mentioned security as a need, or dealt with fundraising, or considered charging for services as a possibility. There was also little discussion of alternative mechanisms for services, such as interns, volunteers, or shared staff. Only two states— New York and Kentucky— mentioned state grant programs to support progress within the state at archival institutions.

In assessing the state reports the consultant pointed out that states generally had missed the point in this section. Asked to consider broadly, the reports generally reflect a narrow perspective. Rather than look across subject or geographical lines, too many reports reflect an insular tendency: "one of the overriding impressions left by these reports is that each state is bound and determined not only to go it alone but to reinvent the wheel wherever and whenever possible" (p. 53).

There is also an apparent lack of knowledge about developments in both the archival field and in library and information science— bibliographic networks, self-study mechanisms, "model" projects in recent years, etc. There is still a problem with such practices as standardization, cooperation, sharing, and networks that have dominated the library field for many years as technology opened the means to communicate.

The consultant recommended that future assessments should address the leadership question "more explicitly because the viability of statewide functions and services is inextricably intertwined with it" (p. 55).

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## The Indiana Situation

*"More people need to realize that our culture and our heritage are intimately tied to these archival functions, and that meaningful, visible manifestations of a museum, for example, are impossible without them."*

*Pamela J. Bennett,  
"The State of  
Archives in  
Indiana."*

Once again Indiana is not unlike the states in the first round of NHPRC assessment grant reports reviewed in *Documenting America*:

- a statewide directory is in preparation to enhance collecting of resources and access to collections;
- education and training efforts are desperately needed although there are some ongoing but limited opportunities in Indiana and surrounding states;
- there have been some fruitful partnerships, but diverse responsibilities and the difficulties of cooperation often appear to discourage partnership ventures in archival and other areas;
- resources are slim, demand for them is great, and the knowledge and method to pursue additional resources has been generally lacking;
- conservation and preservation needs are great, but authority, knowledge, resources, and direction have been generally lacking;
- there are outreach efforts that educate the public and benefit repositories, but more and broader programs are needed;
- no agency has acted as a primary leader in this field to encourage needed actions and partnerships, to seek funding opportunities, and to move the Indiana archival community forward in a steady and productive fashion.



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As has been noted in previous sections, there are several state agencies that are directly part of the archival community—the Indiana State Library, the Indiana Commission on Public Records, and the Indiana Supreme Court. The State Board of Accounts is also involved in a significant way with training and legal matters. The Indiana Historical Bureau is involved in the archival community as both a user and as an educator.

The leading private entities involved in the archival community are the Indiana Historical Society and the Society of Indiana Archivists. There are also the public and private colleges and universities, the Indiana Library Association, the Indiana Humanities Council, several corporations, and the Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board to the National Historical Publications and Records Commission.

## **The Agencies Involved**

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The newspaper preservation project with major funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities is a prime example of public/private partnership with the leadership of the Indiana State Library, Indiana Historical Society, and Indiana University. With the aid of newspaper publishers and repositories throughout the state, the project is microfilming Indiana newspapers to preserve these valuable and quickly deteriorating historical resources.

The County Records of Indiana Microfilming Project (CRIMP) has brought together with the Genealogical Society of Utah a number of public agencies (Indiana State Library, Indiana Commission on Public Records, Indiana Historical Bureau, Indiana Supreme Court), local governments, and private organizations (Indiana Historical Society, local historical societies, cemeteries, etc.) to preserve on microfilm a broad array of public and private records containing information with family history value. CRIMP began in 1981 and will continue until all counties are complete.

The successful Black Women in the Middle West Project funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities through Purdue University was a major collecting project that combined public and private entities in Indiana (Indiana Historical Society, Calumet Regional Archives, and Northern Indiana Historical Society) and Illinois. The Indiana Historical Bureau published the final report in 1986 for the Purdue University Research Foundation in order to make it available to a wider audience throughout the country.

The Indiana Historical Society and the Indiana Historical Bureau cooperate in the County Historian program and work together on various projects and materials. The Indiana Historical Society has recently issued a joint guide to the manuscript holdings of its library and the Indiana Division of the Indiana State Library. The former State Archivist and the staff of Indiana University's Lilly Library have taught a class in archival administration for Indiana University's School of Library and Information Science. The Indiana Historical Society, the Commission on Public Records, and the Indiana Supreme Court in 1988 presented a series of workshops on appraisal and use of local government records directed toward a broad audience, which have reached approximately 350 people.

## **Some Related Examples of Cooperation**



The Society of Indiana Archivists has existed through the support of all of these agencies and through the many small and large organizations whose personnel have led and belonged to the SIA. The *SIA Newsletter* has provided a major outlet for information to the archival community, and its most recent publication endeavor is a comprehensive directory to archives and manuscripts repositories in Indiana.

The Indiana Humanities Council has worked in many ways to provide resources in partnership with other organizations. The Indiana Heritage Research Grants program with the Indiana Historical Society provides modest grants (up to \$2,500) for state and local history projects, including projects for improved access to resources. The same type of cooperative program exists between the Indiana Humanities Council and the Indiana Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution, a state entity. Indiana Humanities Council funds helped to initiate and establish the BROADSIDES program of the Indiana Historical Bureau, which provides a teacher resource guide and packets for students of reproduced original Indiana documents for classroom use and promotes the use of local repositories so that students may see similar original materials. The Resource Center at Indiana Humanities Council preserves the products of its grants and other valuable materials for free use by the public.

*The Society of Indiana Archivists is one of the oldest and largest state archives organizations, and its publications and meetings provide resources for its members.*

*Photograph by Ray Boomhower.*





This brief review has not even touched on library programs, Indiana State Board of Accounts training sessions, and the activities of various other professional associations, state agencies, and private organizations. Frankly, not enough is known about all of these matters because many of the groups—even some that frequently cooperate—do not maintain adequate communication mechanisms on a regular basis. The potential for real progress, however, does exist.

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In Indiana, more so than in many states, state involvement in or concern with archival matters cuts across several agencies with individual administrators and boards—from both the executive and judicial branches of government. In the private sector statewide there are also many organizations involved in or concerned with archival matters—from the Society of Indiana Archivists, to the Indiana Association of Historians, to the Association of Cities and Towns, and on and on. From county government to local government units, such as public libraries, to local historical organizations there is direct involvement with the concerns and needs addressed in this report.

No one agency has sole authority or jurisdiction in these broadly archival matters, and no one has had the ability to assume leadership for the field and make a real impact on the archival community and the publics which must support it. Partnerships have proved worthwhile for many programs in Indiana, and the archival community must aggressively seek partners to solve mutual problems through shared resources and technologies.

In the previous sections of this report recommendations have pointed out areas of need. General throughout is a need for training within the archival community and of all records holders. Perhaps equally important is the need to educate users and the general public through outreach about records management, the importance of preserving the records of the past, and of the relevance to every individual of those records. That need to educate extends to those who control the resources needed to achieve preservation—whether they are members of the Indiana General Assembly or the presidents of companies integral to the development of specific towns. Several recommendations deal with access to those records, both printed and computer databases. Pervasive is the present inability in the state at all levels to address adequately the issues of conservation of collections and preservation of records and information.

Although many of those recommendations call on the Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board or another entity to take the lead, only through real partnerships with shared efforts and resources can Indiana hope to make progress in preserving for future generations the records of its people and of its identity as a state.

## **Partnerships Are Essential**

*“... archives could greatly enhance the capacity of library information resources if they were sufficiently accessible, and could provide unique access to raw data needed for accountable government as well as the cultural resources needed for scholarly historical research and history for pleasure and personal interest as in public programming and genealogy.”*

*Lawrence J. McCrank, “Archival Networking in Indiana.”*



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## **Recommendations for Statewide Functions and Services**

**SF 1.** The Governor should expand the Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board to bring together a better representation of the broadest archival community—including libraries, local officials, user groups, and professional service organizations—in order to establish a forum for communication, planning, and action.

**SF 2.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should revise its State Plan to reflect current needs and priorities and implement evaluation and revision on a regular basis to address changing situations in the state as progress is made.

**SF 3.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should join with the existing coalition of archival, library, and historical representatives to address the broad needs for preservation and conservation in Indiana.

**SF 4.** The Indiana Historical Records Advisory Board should work with related groups to establish task forces to address the recommendations of this report.



# Appendix 1.

## Principles for State Archival and Records Management Agencies

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(From *Report* of the Committee on the Records of Government, pp. 171-172.)

The following principles were adopted by the National Association of State Archives and Records Administrators on July 22, 1977 at its annual meeting in St. Louis, Missouri to assist the several States in the establishment and operation of State archival and records management agencies:

### Statement of Principles

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Comprehensive legislation which recognizes the fundamental nature of the relationship of government records as instruments of accountability by the government to the people, evidence of public and private rights and obligations, an informational source on matters involving the continuous administration and management of the government; preserves the patrimony of the State as evidenced in its records; and provides exclusive authority to carry out archives and records management functions and responsibilities on a government-wide basis.

#### I. Legislation

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The institutional character of the agency as the repository of the permanently valuable records of the government to provide sufficient autonomy for its protection against political interference, including tenure for the agency head, civil service protection for its personnel, and control of agency facilities, equipment and resources.

#### II. Institutional Identity

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Placement within the government that prevents the submergence of the agency beneath competing interests; eliminates blurring of functions with other professional agencies and disciplines; protects against interference with agency program responsibilities under the color of coordination authority; and eliminates hampering supervision and control by those having little or no professional knowledge of its program responsibilities and operations.

#### III. Organizational Placement

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Sufficient authority for the agency to define records problems and needs of the State, to prescribe appropriate programs, and to effectively administer the programs.

#### IV. Program Authority



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**V.  
Exclusive  
Responsibility**

Exclusive program responsibilities that do not diffuse the primary responsibility of the agency for government records.

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**VI.  
Appropriation  
and Expenditure**

Funding by direct appropriation to the agency by the Legislature with authority to budget and expend such funds.

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**VII.  
Internal Policy**

Exclusive agency determination of the internal policies and professional needs of the agency.

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**VIII.  
Regulations and  
Standards**

Power to prescribe and enforce rules, regulations and standards relating to government records administration.

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## **Appendix 2.**

### **Elements of a Comprehensive Government Records Program**

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(From *Report* of the Committee on the Records of Government, pp. 168-169.)

While specific alignments and program elements vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, the overall scope of a comprehensive government records program as the concept has developed over the last several decades would include the following elements:

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The operation of a central repository for the permanently valuable records of all three branches of government. Records are transferred to the archives after active use by the originating agency ceases. The professional archivist arranges, describes, and preserves the records, and provides reference service to other government agencies and the public. The archives also might provide other services, such as exhibitions, educational programs, and publications.

#### **Archival program**

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The operation of a centralized storage facility for semi-current records designed to house a large volume of records inexpensively. The guiding principle is to remove infrequently used records from expensive office space into cheaper warehouse-type storage. Only physical custody of the material is transferred; legal ownership remains with the transferring agency. Material transferred to records centers is often limited to non-permanent records that are used occasionally or rarely but must be kept for a specific time to meet a legal requirement (e.g., audit, statute of limitations). Centers are staffed by professional and paraprofessional archival employees who provide reference service to government agencies as well as clerical personnel who handle routine filing duties.

#### **Records center operation**

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The determination of how long a record should be kept and when it should be destroyed or transferred from the agency of origin to a records center or archives, as appropriate. Agencies usually draft their own retention schedules, in consultation with the archives/records management agency, listing each record type and proposing a retention period for it. The schedules are then reviewed by the archives/records management staff who appraise their archival value and make recommendations to the official(s) having authority to approve the schedule (usually the chief archivist and/or the records board or commission). Even when the chief archivist does not have authority to approve the schedule, he/she may have the right to review it and designate records as permanent, asking for their eventual transfer to the archives.

#### **Appraisal and scheduling**



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**Micrographics**

The use of micrographics to reduce the volume of paper-based files and to ensure preservation of information contained in fragile records. Frequently a centralized micrographics staff provides services to other agencies on a cost-recovery basis. The central staff may also be responsible for inspecting microforms produced by other agencies or contractors to ensure compliance with prescribed standards.

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**Management of current records**

The development and implementation of procedures to improve the efficiency and economy of records creation and handling in the agencies. Training and guidance is often provided by a central staff to the agency records officers responsible for specific programs. Areas of concentration have included the improvement of filing systems, mail handling, directive issuances, forms design, report preparation and correspondence management.

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**Information systems design**

Technical advice on the installation of word processing, micrographics, and ADP systems for handling information. Designing an effective computer-based system is often just a logical extension of devising a sound filing system for paper records. Ideally, the same people who are trained to set up efficient retrieval strategies for paper files should be implementing similar systems for automated records. The agency records officers should work closely with the ADP staff to make certain old and new information retrieval techniques are compatible.



## Appendix 3.

### September 10, 1987 Conference Participants

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Peter Harstad, Indiana Historical Society  
 C. Ray Ewick, Indiana State Library  
 Pamela J. Bennett, Indiana Historical Bureau  
 Edwin Howell, Indiana Commission on Public Records  
 Kenneth Gladish, Indiana Humanities Council  
 Nancy Sahli, NHPRC  
 John J. Newman, Indiana Supreme Court  
 Saundra Taylor, Indiana University  
 Tom Krasean, Indiana Historical Society  
 F. Gerald Handfield, Indiana Commission on Public Records  
 Alan Goebes, Indiana Division of Historic Preservation  
 Cindy Brubaker, Indiana Division of Historic Preservation  
 Les Miller, Secretary of State's Office  
 Jane Bunner, Indiana Department of Administration  
 Alex Ingram, State Board of Accounts  
 Nancy DiLaura, Governor's Office  
 Darrel Bigham, University of Southern Indiana  
 Eric Pumroy, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis  
 Wesley Wilson, DePauw University  
 William Wallach, University of Michigan  
 Donald E. Baker, Willard Library  
 Sister Ann K. Brawley, Sisters of Providence  
 J. Thomas Brown, Indiana State University  
 Sallie Cooke, Tippecanoe County Historical Association  
 Jan Cox, INCOLSA  
 Robert Logsdon, Indiana State Library  
 Connie McBirney, Indiana Historical Society  
 James Madison, Indiana University  
 Wendy Clauson Schlereth, University of Notre Dame

Ronald Cohen, Indiana University Northwest  
 Alice Jean Stuart, Bartholomew County Historical Society  
 Donald N. Yates, Miles Laboratories, Inc.  
 Dennis East, Ohio Historical Society  
 Stephen McShane, Indiana University Northwest  
 Dorothy Bailey, Brown County Historical Society  
 Thomas Jones, Indiana Supreme Court  
 William Harris, Indiana State Library  
 Doris Leistner, Tell City  
 Ralph Gray, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis  
 Richard Cardwell, Hoosier State Press Association  
 Philip Scarpino, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis  
 Joseph Rice, State Budget Agency  
 Cam Stewart Weber, Terre Haute  
 Ann McDaniel, Hancock County, Clerk of the Circuit Court  
 Peggy Boehm, State Budget Agency  
 Marsh Davis, Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana  
 Jean Jose, Indiana State Library  
 Noraleen Young, Indiana State Library  
 Nancy Thoms, Indiana Legislative Services  
 Byron Swanson, Indiana State Library  
 Marybelle Burch, Indiana State Library  
 Helen Morrison, Indiana Commission on Public Records  
 Ruth Henderson, Indiana State Library  
 Sheryl Vanderstel, Indiana Historical Bureau  
 David Mannweiler, Indianapolis *News*  
 Susie Rawlings, Indianapolis



## Appendix 4.

### References and Selected Resources

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ANTHONY WEBER

The son of Joseph and Catherine (Schreiner) Weber, was born January 3, 1841 in Franklin Co., Ind. He was married April 28th, 1868 to Mary Ann Hittle, who was born in Franklin Co. Dec. 21, 1848, the daughter of Philip and Feronica (France) Hittle. They have had twelve children, Joseph, Mary, Feronica, Annie, dec. Elizabeth, Anthony, Margaret, Clara, Lena, Tillie, dec. Roman and Carrie. Anthony Weber was living on a farm in Franklin Co., Ind. when he enlisted Aug. 23, 1862 in Franklin Co. Ind. for three years at the age of 21 as a private in Co. K, 83d Ind., 2d Brig. 2d div. 15th A.C. Dept of the Miss. He was in all the battles of Mo., Ark. and S.W. Tullahoma Campaign, following which he was taken sick and was disabled for heavy field duty, but anxious to serve, refusing to be discharged; he was confined in hospital at Memphis in Dec. 1862, with measles and other resulting diseases for five or six months, also at Fort. Pickens and St. Louis for about one month. In Sept. 1863, while at St. Louis he was transferred to Co. E, 15th V.P.C., and sent to Chicago where he served on guard and garrison duty. During April 1865 he served as guard of honor at the funeral exercises of Abraham Lincoln at Chicago and Springfield, Ill. He was discharged Aug. 1, 1865 at Cairo, Ill. One brother Jacob Weber, a member of the 32d I.V.I. was captured and sent to Andersonville Prison where he died from exposure and hunger. Her brother, Michael Hittle served in the Civil war but is now dead. Comrade Weber and family are honored members of the Holy Family Catholic church at Oldenburg, Ind, and are very active in all Christian duties. Mrs. Weber passed to her reward March 10, 1900 and the community mourn their loss. Mr Weber served his township and Dist. as Supt. of public roads for about eight years. He is a member of Aug. Willich Post No 175, at Batesville, Ind., and is living on a pleasant farm two and one half miles north of Oldenburg, Ind.

10/8/92

George Wissel, grandson of guard at Springfield for next

10 744 U.S. 2. #127

Fort Wayne 46816-3463

(He is 87 yrs. old)

He drove here today



*The New York Times***Opinionator**

SEPTEMBER 25, 2011, 9:38 PM

**Up South**

By NICOLE ETCHESON

Disunion follows the Civil War as it unfolded.

**Tags:**

abraham lincoln, Illinois, Indiana, ohio, Slavery, the civil war

Abraham Lincoln may have won Indiana in the 1860 presidential election, but on a summer night in Greencastle, Ind., locals could see just how much the state was split between Unionists and Confederate sympathizers. On the evening of July 21, 1861, residents had gathered at the railroad depot, where the telegraph “dripped” news “from the wires indicating the rising or falling tide at the distant battle” at Bull Run. Eager anticipation turned to dismay when they learned that, at the end of the day, the tide had turned and the North had suffered a shocking defeat. But not everyone at the depot was discouraged: the face of Judge Delana Eckels, who publicly sided with the South even as he held a leading position in the community, was wreathed in smiles at the news of the Union army’s panicked retreat.

Indiana, like its neighboring lower Midwestern states Ohio and Illinois, had been settled by Southern migrants, and many carried their old allegiances with them. Like many of his fellow townspeople, Judge Eckels had grown up in Kentucky. During the secession crisis, Indiana Representative Daniel W. Voorhees promised his constituents never to “vote one dollar, or one man, or one gun to the administration of ABRAHAM LINCOLN, to make war upon the South.” Still, despite Voorhees’s assertion, the firing on Fort Sumter sparked intense Union sentiment in the Midwest. When the war came, over half of adult Hoosier men signed up, many as three-year volunteers, placing Indiana second in the nation for the percentage of its military-age population in service.

Although the Civil War divided the nation, it especially divided Midwesterners whose strong ties to the South

Library of Congress  
Daniel W. Voorhees

competed with a fierce attachment to the Union. No one embodied that paradox more strongly than Abraham Lincoln, who was born in Kentucky, raised in Indiana, married into a slaveowning family and rose to political power in Illinois.

In addition to family ties, the lower Midwest had important trade links to the South, which they knew would be hurt by sectional conflict. Farmers shipped pork, corn and



other agricultural products down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to the market at New Orleans (Lincoln, as a youth in Indiana and Illinois, made two such trips to that port). War closed the Mississippi, hurting cities all along the Ohio River. Agricultural prices plummeted. In the fall of 1861, Peter Demaree, a farmer in Johnson County, Ind., complained to his brother that “times is very hard here every thing we have to sell is very low & every thing we buy is very high.” True, as the war continued, railroads supplanted the rivers as the chief means of transportation, and the Northern army’s demand for food and supplies brought Midwestern farmers high prices and prosperity: corn, which sold for 15 cents a bushel in the depressed days of 1861, rose to 95 cents by 1864. But in 1861 the good times were not apparent, and Midwesterners greeted the economic shocks with dismay.

Moreover, while Ohio, Indiana and Illinois were free states, all three maintained “black laws” that prohibited African Americans from voting, serving on juries, marrying whites and testifying against whites in court. Informal segregation existed as well: Ellis Mitchell, a well-to-do free black man traveling through Ohio, had to eat in the kitchen while his white traveling companions were served in the dining room of a tavern. All three states also possessed or considered prohibitions against African Americans moving into them; in Indiana such a bar was written into its 1851 constitution. David M. Dobson, an Owen County delegate to the state’s constitutional convention, summed up the prevailing attitude, which worried that Indiana would become the “receptacle for . . . all the broke down and worthless slaves of the South.”

States rights doctrine was also popular in the region. Sympathetic Midwesterners agreed with Southerners that the political quarrels of the 1850s constituted an attack on Southern rights. President James Buchanan appointed Judge Eckels, who was a powerful figure in the Indiana Democratic party, chief justice of Utah Territory; nevertheless, during the 1860 election Eckels campaigned in Indiana for the Southern rights candidate, John C. Breckinridge. Eckels wanted “complete enjoyment of every constitutional right,” including to slaves, for “every portion of the Union, North and South.”

Despite Eckels’s endorsement, Breckinridge received less than 5 percent of Indiana’s popular vote in 1860. Another pro-Southern candidate, John Bell, whose platform called for respecting the Fugitive Slave Law, received less than 2 percent. Instead, the race in Indiana was between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, both Illinoisans and both arguing that slavery could be prevented from expanding. Midwestern fear of black migration came as much from their dislike of haughty slaveowners, who often freed aging slaves and sent them north of the Ohio River, as it did from animosity toward African Americans themselves.

In other words, many Midwesterners, especially those in the lower Midwest, opposed the Southern candidates not out of an ideological difference, but because they feared the growth of the

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Related Civil War  
Timeline



“Slave Power” South that would force them to allow blacks to live in their region, whether as slaves or freedmen. To them, Douglas was a “Judas” who had authored legislation that opened Kansas Territory to slavery in exchange for Southern political support.

An unfolding history of the Civil War with photos and articles from the Times archive and ongoing commentary from Disunion contributors.

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But in April 1861, the Confederate firing on Fort Sumter shifted the blame to the Confederacy. The “war spirit” infected entire communities. One Democrat in Greencastle, John A. Matson, “made a stirring and patriotic appeal in behalf of the Union.” Another, Lewis Sands, opened a recruiting office. Sands raised two companies of soldiers and, despite his advancing age, hoped to enlist as well. His exertions, however, taxed his health and he died within a month. Matson’s son, Courtland, quit college to volunteer and served throughout the war.

The entire community found ways to support the war. Most of the early volunteers were unmarried men like Courtland Matson, but nonetheless a committee formed to see that married soldiers’ families would be cared for during their absence. Local women sewed uniforms for their sons, cooked farewell dinners for the troops and honored them with flags. George L. Chapin belonged to the first company to leave Putnam County for the muster grounds in Indianapolis. He described the farewell: “The Ladies of GreenCastle presented us with a beautiful Flag.”

Shortly after the Confederacy formed, President-elect Lincoln wrote the new Republican governor of Indiana, Oliver P. Morton, that for “the salvation of this Union there needs but one single thing, the hearts of a people like yours.” Yet Hoosier hearts were as deeply riven as the Union itself. In northern Indiana, the news of Fort Sumter caused Theodore Upson’s grandmother to sob for those of her children who remained in the South: “Oh to think that I should have lived to see the day when Brother should rise against Brother.” Her grandson would march through Georgia with Sherman’s army.

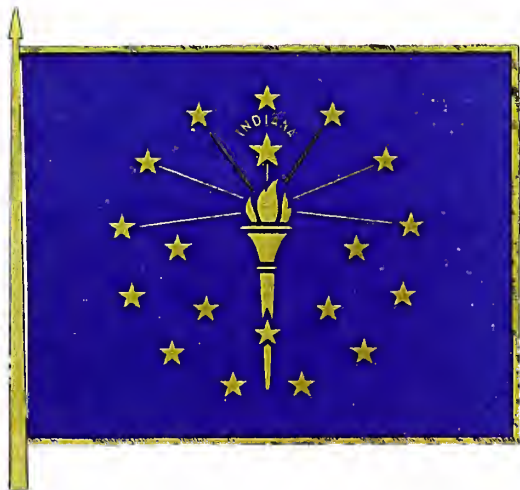
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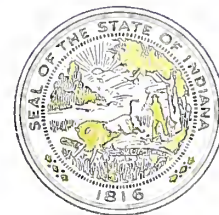


## INDIANA STATE BANNER



The state banner was adopted by the General Assembly in 1917 as part of the commemoration of the state's Centennial, after a competition sponsored by the Daughters of the American Revolution. The prize-winning design was submitted by Paul Hadley of Mooresville, Indiana. The torch in the center stands for liberty and enlightenment; the rays represent their far-reaching influence. The outer circle of stars stands for the original thirteen states, and the inner circle of stars for the five states next admitted to the Union. The large star stands for Indiana, the nineteenth state. This banner is "regulation in addition to the American flag, with all of the military forces in the State of Indiana, and in all public functions in which the state may or shall officially appear." The state colors are always carried or displayed on the observer's right of the Stars and Stripes.

## EMBLEMS of the STATE OF INDIANA



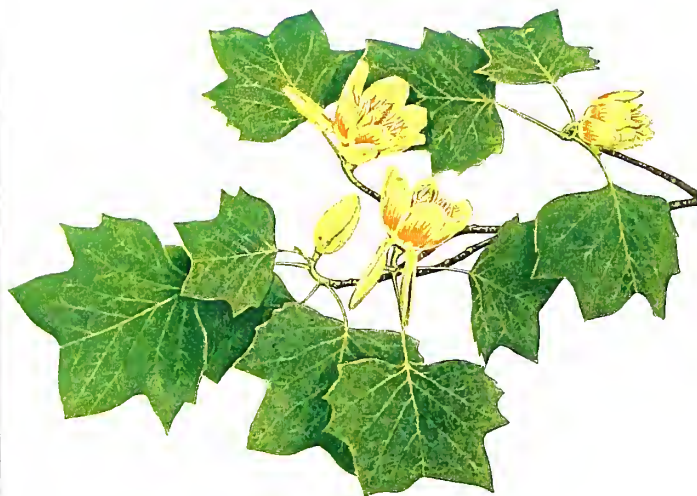
The Constitution of Indiana (1851) provides that "there shall be a Seal of State, kept by the Governor for official purposes, which shall be called the Seal of the State of Indiana." [Article 15, Sec. 5]. Other than this there is no constitutional or legislative description of the state seal. The design given above is a rendering of the design on the seal now kept in the office of the Governor. The pioneer scene depicted—a woodsman felling a tree, while a buffalo flees from the forest across the plains and the sun sets in the distance—appeared originally on the seal of Indiana Territory. It is found on official territorial papers as early as 1801. When Indiana was admitted to the Union in 1816 the old design, symbolic of westward expansion, was retained as the state seal.

Issued by the Indiana Historical Bureau, 408 State Library and Historical Building, Indianapolis.



## INDIANA STATE TREE

### THE TULIP TREE



Branch of the tulip tree in blossom

The tulip tree (*Liriodendron Tulipifera*), known also as yellow poplar, was adopted as the state tree by act of the General Assembly approved March 3, 1931. Monarch of the great forests which covered most of Indiana in pioneer times, the tulip tree has since become comparatively rare. Of recent years, however, it has been extensively used in ornamental planting, as its shape, the size which it attains, and its distinctive blossom make it a feature in any landscape. It should be planted in the early spring. The lovely bell-shaped greenish-yellow flowers appear in May or June. The soft white wood is used for many purposes.

## INDIANA STATE FLOWER

### THE ZINNIA



The Zinnia (*Zinnia Elegans*) was adopted as the official state flower by act of the General Assembly approved March 3, 1931. At this time the act approved March 1, 1923, which had designated the blossom of the tulip tree as the state flower, was repealed. The zinnia blooms in a variety of colors and in single or double form. No particular variety was singled out by the Legislature. The zinnia grows under cultivation throughout the state.



# THE MAN WITHOUT FEAR WHO COULDN'T KILL A CHICKEN.

Strenuous Days in the White House—"Paying for the Niggers"—A Political Surprise.

(Alfred Henry Lewis, in one "Human Life.")

It was a warm Washington evening in the spring of 1895, and the late Senator Voorhees, the late Secretary Morton and Col. Morrison, then of the Interstate Commerce Commission, were sitting about the Fourteenth street door of Willard's, enjoying a chat. The talk turned on the great emancipator, Lincoln, and gave birth to reminiscences. Voorhees was the first to speak.

"As a boy, I knew Lincoln," said Voorhees. "The circuit he was wont to travel in his law practice in the early days swept the west border of Indiana, and while I studied and when I began the practice of the law I found myself frequently in the same court room with Lincoln.

"Of course no one thought of him as the coming President, the central figure of a great war, and the victim of an assassin.

"In that day everyone conceded Lincoln's persuasive powers with a jury. His humor, his good nature, his absolute honesty, as well as a potent trick with English, made him a dangerous opponent before the twelve men who passed on the facts in a law case.

## A Man Without Fear.

"Physically, Lincoln was as powerful as an ogre, and his courage was proof. I don't believe he ever feared anybody or anything. During the hours of Civil War Stanton and others were wont to be afraid for him, but no sign of anxiety for himself personally ever shone in the eye of Lincoln. Nor did he limit himself in his excursions about Washington, or withhold himself from the public in any fashion. He went where he pleased, when he chose; saw all fashions of callers.

## Strenuous Times in the White House.

"Lincoln was a tender man of others, with keen sympathies. I was in Congress while he was in the White House and saw a good deal of him. He said to me one day:

"Voorhees, doesn't it seem strange to you that I should be here? Doesn't it strike you as queer, that I, a man who couldn't cut the head off a chicken and who was sick at the sight of blood, should be east into the middle of a great war, with blood flowing all about me? To me, when I think of it sometimes, it is the most amazing thing on earth."

"Yes," continued Voorhees, "when I look back at Lincoln in the White House, with armies in the field, and fleets on every sea, and think of the work he must have done, I wonder what some Presidents who have followed him and who regard themselves as overworked, would have thought if their daily desk had been piled like

## A Political Surprise Party.

"Lincoln was a shrewd politician as well as a great President," remarked Col. William R. Morrison. "He gave evidence of it during my first term in the Illinois Legislature. It was late in the '50's. The Free Soil excitement was abroad. It came our turn in Illinois to elect a Senator. As I say, I was a member of the Legislature. The two parties were about equally balanced. Lincoln was the Free Soil candidate, and on joint ballot had 49 votes. There were an even 100 in all. The remaining 51 were divided between Shields—who was our candidate—with 46 votes, and Lyman Trumbull, who was the Free Soil Democratic candidate, with five votes. The five Trumbull votes were led by Senator Palmer, who was then a Free Soil Democrat and also a member of the Legislature. We stood through several ballots, Lincoln 4, Shields 46, and Trumbull 5. Palmer and his five would not yield. They were Democrats, but they were against slavery, and nothing we could say or do would bring them to Shields. We had just begun to realize this, and were casting about for a candidate on whom the Free Soil and regular Democrat could unite, when, without a word of warning, Lincoln stole a march on us. He knew as well as we that sooner or later, with matters as they were, the regular Democrats would abandon Shields, and the Free Soilers, with Palmer at their head, give up Trumbull, and unite on somebody who might suit both wings of the Democracy. Now Lincoln, if he couldn't win himself, preferred Trumbull mightily, and while our dicker with the Palmer crowd was in mid-career, he suddenly gave his whole 49 votes to Trumbull, and to the disgust of the regular Democrats made him Senator. A few years later Lincoln was in the White House, while Trumbull, one of his best and warmest friends, and who practically owed Lincoln his office, was in the Senate. During the whole war and up to Lincoln's death he never had a stauncher supporter than Lyman Trumbull."

## "Where Mr. Lincoln Lived."

Voorhees and Morrison had spoken, and both now turned to Morton as though a story from that cabinet member were in order. The propriety of the notion seemed to strike him and he yielded without protest.

"From the Quincy District," said Secretary Morton, "during the early '60's there was as representative in Congress a friend of mine, named Richardson. He was afterward in the Senate, and was known to us as 'Old Dick.' My acquaintance with him began when Buchanan named Richardson as Governor of the Territory of Nebraska, and he chose me as Secretary of State. 'Old Dick' Richardson told me more than one yarn about Lincoln, whom he dearly loved and much admired. Richardson and Lincoln practiced law together and rode the same circuits. Often they went together in a buggy, and so saw and heard much of each other. Richardson told me how one day, on returning from an eight weeks' swing around the circuit, they drove up to Lincoln's house. He had invited Richardson to dinner.

"Lincoln in his personal habits was careless to the point of being shiftless. It was notorious that his fences were always in need of repair, his gate

wanted a hinge, the grass in his yard needed cutting, and the scene around his home betrayed a reckless indifference to appearances.

"As Richardson and Lincoln drove up they noticed a great and surprising change. The grass was mowed and the gate mended; the fence fixed and painted. Everything was spick and span; it didn't look like the same place. Mrs. Lincoln had taken advantage of Lincoln's absence to inaugurate a reform, and was standing in the door as her husband and Richardson came up, to enjoy the excitement her improvements would create.

"Lincoln pulled up his horse, but didn't get out of the buggy. He looked doubtfully at the scene of door-yard order and repair, and then, turning to his wife without the slightest show of recognition, he bowed politely and said:

"You'll excuse me, my good woman, but can you tell me where Mr. Lincoln lives?"

"This nettled Mrs. Lincoln, and she replied: 'You get out of that buggy and I'll show you personally where Mr. Lincoln lives.'

## When Sumner Had the Last Smile.

"Richardson," continued Secretary Morton, "was a great supporter of Lincoln while the latter was President and Richardson in Congress, and at that time he told me frequently that he was certain that while slavery would be abolished, the owners would receive compensation for their emancipated slaves, and that Lincoln would favor it; wouldn't, in fact, consent to anything short of it. I had a different view. I didn't know what Lincoln might personally be inclined to do, but I felt sure Sumner and others of his party leaders would not consent to pay for the freed slaves. They would have their way, too.

"One night, somewhere about two or three months before the emancipation proclamation came out, I was at a banquet in Washington. Richardson was seated four removes from me at the table. At one point I leaned back and, talking behind the intervening guests, asked Richardson whether he had gained any new beliefs on the subject of how Lincoln stood on the question of paying for the slaves.

"Yes," retorted Richardson, 'I've got a new impression on that point. I'm beginning to entertain doubts. This is what has shaken me. I was up to the White House this morning to see Lincoln; I saw him and talked about this very subject of paying the planters for their slaves. Lincoln talked in a very general, but still a very encouraging way. I felt sure he took my view of the matter.

"After a long pow-wow, in which I seemed to have my way, and Lincoln, without promising any definite thing, still appeared to perfectly agree with me, I came away. I was smiling to myself; it was the smile of a man with whom the President agrees. If you had asked me your question at that moment, I would have told you that Lincoln would pay for the niggers.

"But just at that crisis I remembered that as I climbed the stairs to see Lincoln, I had met Sumner coming away. It struck me, too, that he, too, was smiling just as I was. It sent a chill over me, and I began to doubt. I've been wondering ever since if Sumner didn't have a better foundation for his smile than I had, and I have about concluded that he did. There's no room on this subject of paying for the slaves for both Sumner and myself to smile."



## THE CHARACTER OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

Address by Ralph W. Emerson.

The following address was delivered by Ralph Waldo Emerson, Esq., in Concord, Massachusetts, on occasion of the funeral services in honor of Mr. Lincoln:

We meet under the gloom of a calamity which darkens down over the minds of good men in all civilized society, as the fearful tidings travel over sea, over land, from country to country, like the shadow of an uncalculated eclipse over the planet. Old as history is and manifold as are its tragedies, I doubt if any death has caused so much pain to mankind as this has caused, or will cause, on its announcement; and this not so much because nations are by modern arts brought so closely together, as because of the mysterious hopes and fears which, in the present day, are connected with the name and institutions of America.

In this country, on Saturday, every one was struck dumb, and saw, at first, only deep below deep, as he meditated on the ghastly blow. And, perhaps, at this hour, when the coffin which contains the dust of the President sets forward on its long march through mourning States, on its way to his home in Illinois, we might well be silent, and suffer the awful voices of the time to thunder to us. Yes, but that first despair was brief; the man was not so to be mourned. He was the most active and hopeful of men; and his work had not perished; but acclamations of praise for the task he had accomplished burst out into a song of triumph, which even tears for his death cannot keep down.

The President stood before us a man of the people. He was thoroughly American, had never crossed the sea, had never been spoiled by English insularity, or French dissipation; a quiet native, aboriginal man, as an acorn from the oak; no aping of foreigners, no frivolous accomplishments, Kentuckian born, working on a farm, a flatboatman, a captain in the Blackhawk war, a country lawyer, a representative in the rural Legislature of Illinois—on such modest foundations the broad structure of his fame was laid. How slowly, and yet by happily prepared steps, he came to his place.

All of us remember—it is only a history of five or six years—the surprise and the disappointment of the country at his first nomination by the Convention at Chicago. Mr. Seward, then in the culmination of his good fame, was the favorite of the Eastern States. And when the new and comparatively unknown name of Lincoln was announced (notwithstanding the report of the acclamations of that Convention), we heard the result coldly and sadly.

It seemed too rash, on a purely local reputation, to build so grave a trust, in such anxious times; and men naturally talked of the chances in politics as incalculable. But it turned out not to be chance. The profound good opinion which the people of Illinois and of the West had conceived of him, and which they had imparted to their colleagues, that they also might justify themselves to their constituents at home, was not rash, though they did not begin to know the richness of his worth.

A plain man of the people, an extraordinary fortune attended him. Lord Bacon says: "Manifest virtues procure reputation; occult ones, fortune." He offered no shining qualities at the first encounter; he did not offend by superiority. He had a face and manner which disarmed suspicion, which inspired confidence, which confirmed good-will. He was a man without vices. He had a strong sense of duty which it was very easy for him to obey. Then he had what farmers call a long head; was excellent in working out the sum for himself; in arguing his case and convincing you fairly and firmly.

Then it turned out that he was a great worker; had prodigious faculty of performance; worked easily. A good worker is so rare; everybody has some disabling quality. In a host of young men that start together, and promise so many brilliant leaders for the next age, each fails on trial; one by bad health, one by conceit or by love of pleasure, or by lethargy, or by an hasty temper—each has some disqualifying fault that throws him out of the career. But this man was sound to the core, cheerful, persistent, all right for labor, and liked nothing so well.

Then he had a vast good nature, which made him tolerant and accessible to all; fair minded, leading to the claim of the petitioner; affable, and not sensible to the affliction which the innumerable visits paid to him, when President, would have brought to any one else. And how this good nature became a noble humanity, in many a tragic case which the events of the war brought to him, every one will remember, and with what increasing tenderness he dealt, when a whole race was thrown on his compassion. The poor negro said of him; on an impressive occasion, "Massa Linkum am ebrywhere."

Then his broad good humor, running easily into jocular talk, in which he delighted and in which he excelled, was a rich gift to this wise man. It enabled him to keep his secret; to meet every kind of man, and every rank in society; to take off the edge of the severest decisions; to mask his own purpose and sound his companion; and to catch with true instinct the temper of every company he addressed. And, more than all, it is to a man of several, in anxious and exhausting crises, the natural restorative, good as sleep, and is the protection of the overdriven brain against rancor and insanity.

He is the author of a multitude of good sayings, so disguised as pleasanties that it is certain they had no reputation at first but as jests; and only later, by the very acceptance and adoption they find in the mouths of millions, turn out to be the wisdom of the hour. I am sure if this man had ruled in a period of less facility of printing, he would have become mythological in a very few years, like Æsop or Pilpay, or one of the Seven Wise Masters, by his fables and proverbs.

But the weight and penetration of many passages in his letters, messages, and speeches, hidden now by the very closeness of their application to the moment, are destined hereafter to a wide fame. What pregnant definitions; what merriment common sense; what foresight; and, on great occasions, what lofty, and more than national, what humane tone! His brief speech at Gettysburg will not easily be surpassed by words on any recorded occasion. This, and one other American speech, that of John Brown to the court that tried him, and a part of Kosuth's speech at Birmingham, can only be compared with each other, and with no fourth.

His occupying the chair of State was a triumph of the good sense of mankind, and of the public conscience. This middle-class country had got a middle-class President at last. Yes, in manners, sympathies, but not in powers, for his powers were superior. His mind mastered the problem of the day; and, as the problem grew, so did his comprehension of it. Rarely was man so fitted to the event. In the midst of tears and jealousies, in the Babel of counsels and parties, this man wrought incessantly with all his might and all his honesty, laboring to find what the people wanted, and how to obtain that.

It cannot be said there is any exaggeration of his worth. If ever a man was fairly tested, he was. There was no lack of resistance, nor of slander, nor of ridicule. The times have allowed no State secrets; the nation has been in such a ferment, such multitudes had to be trusted, that no secret could be kept. Every door was ajar, and we know all that befel.

Then what an occasion was the whirlwind of the war. Here was place for no holiday magistrate, no fair-weather sailor; the new pilot was hurried to the helm in a tornado. In four years—the four years of battle-days—his endurance, his fertility of resources, his magnanimity, were sorely tried and never found wanting.

There, by his courage, his justice, his even temper, his fertile counsel, his humanity, he stood an heroic figure in the centre of an heroic epoch. He is the true history of the American people in his time. Step by step he walked before them; slow with their slowness, quickening his march by theirs; the true representative of this continent; an entirely public man; father of his country, the pulse of twenty millions throbbing in his heart, the thought of each mind articulated by his tongue.

Adam Smith remarks that the axe, which, in Houbraken's portraits of British kings and viceroys, is engraved under those who have suffered at the block, adds a certain lofty charm to the picture. And who does not see, even in this tragedy so recent, how fast the terror and ruin of the massacre are already burning into glory around the victim? Far happier this man than to have lived to be wished away; to have watched the decay of his own faculties; to have seen—perhaps, even he—the proverbial magnitude of statesmen; to have seen men men preferred.

And he not lived long enough to keep the greatest promise that ever man made to his fellow-men—the practical abolition of slavery? He had seen Tennessee, Missouri and Maryland emancipate their slaves. He had seen Savannah, Charleston and Richmond surrendered; had seen the main army of the rebellion lay down its arms. He had conquered the public opinion of Canada, England, and France. Only Washington can compare with him in fortune.

And what if it should turn out, in the unfolding of the web, that he had reached the term; that this heroic deliverer could no longer serve us; that the rebellion had touched its natural conclusion, and what remained to be done required new and uncommitted hands—a new spirit born out of the ashes of the war; and that Heaven, wishing to show the world a completed benefactor, shall make him serve his country even more by death than by his life. Nations, like kings, are not good by facility and complaisance. "The kindness of kings consists in justice and strength." Easy good nature has been the dangerous foible of the Republic, and it was necessary that its enemies should outrage it, and drive us to unwonted firmness, to secure the salvation of this country in the next ages.

The ancients believed in a serene and beautiful Genius which ruled in the affairs of nations; which, with a slow but stern justice, carried forward the fortunes of certain chosen houses, weeding out single offenders, or offending families, and securing at last the firm prosperity of the favorites of Heaven. It was too narrow a view of the Eternal Nemesis. There is a serene Providence which rules the fate of nations, which makes little account of time, little of one generation or race, makes no account of disasters, conquerors alike by what is called defeat, or by what is called victory, thrusts aside enemy and obstructions, crushes everything immoral as inhuman, and obtains the ultimate triumph of the best race by the sacrifice of everything which resist the moral laws of the world. It makes its own instruments, creates the man for the time, trains him in poverty, inspires his genius, and arms him for his task. It has given every race its own talent, and ordains that only that race which combines perfectly with the virtues of all shall endure.

—President Johnson is not at all careful of his life. I saw him arrive at the Treasury Department this morning without a guard, in a plain public coach. He wears well. The life he leads does not apparently disturb his serenity of mind. It will be found that he is able to bear a vast amount of care and anxiety.







